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ORDO VIRTUTUM:
HILDEGARD OF BINGEN'S LITURGICAL MORALITY PLAY

By

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ABSTRACT

ORDO VIRTUTUM: HILDEGARD OF BINGEN'S LITURGICAL MORALITY PLAY

By

Bruce William Hozeski

The *Ordo Virtutum* by Hildegard von Bingen, as found in the "Riesenkodex," Hessische Landesbibliothek, Wiesbaden, cod. 2 (Rupertsberg, c. 1180-90), and in *Reigen der Tugenden* (Berlin, 1927), is the subject of this dissertation. Written between 1141 and 1151, the *Ordo* becomes extremely important, since it appears to be the earliest liturgical morality play yet to be discovered.

The first section of the dissertation contains a translation of the *Ordo*, with the original Latin text typed on the verso and the candidate's English translation on the recto. The translation is as literal as possible, but not stilted nor obscure in its meaning, and tries to capture some of the biblical tone which is evident throughout the play. The numerous biblical allusions, pin-pointed with the aid of Thompson and Stock's *Complete Concordance to the Bible*, Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Bible*, and Lueker's *The Concordia Bible Dictionary*, and checked in Monsignor Knox's translation, *The Holy Bible. A Translation from the Latin Vulgate in the Light of the Hebrew and Greek*

Originals, have been cited in square brackets within the text.

The second section discusses the dramatic milieu of the Ordo Virtutum, as found in Karl Young's The Drama of the Medieval Church and O. B. Hardison's Christian Rite and Christian Drama. The revival of drama in the ninth and tenth centuries, due to the strong influence of the liturgy within the Church, was signaled by the Quem quaeritis, a brief dialogue inspired by the Gospel account of the Resurrection. Eventually, the Visitatio Sepulchri or Easter play emerged. But it must be noted that there is no neat chronological development from the simple to the complex, for while some cities and monasteries were performing twelfth century versions of the Visitatio Sepulchri of the simplest composition, others were at the same time performing more complex dramas. The twelfth century manuscripts of the Quem quaeritis and the Visitatio Sepulchri, plus several Nativity and Magi plays, represent scriptural liturgical drama, since the content and personages are taken directly from the Scriptures, and the action is based upon the liturgical ceremonies of the Church and is suitable for performance within the Church.

A second type of drama also existed in the twelfth century. Based on the Scriptures, but not on the liturgy, this type allowed the author a greater freedom for dramatic invention in the composition of a play. Examples are the plays of Lazarus, Isaac and Rebecca, and Daniel. A third type, based on the legends of the saints, allowed still greater freedom and is found represented in the numerous twelfth century plays about St. Nicholas. A fourth and final type, based on quasi and semi religious traditions and on the use of personifications and figurations in Prudentius, allowed the greatest freedom. Hildegard's Ordo exemplifies this type, making greater use of personifications than any of its preceding, contemporaneous, or succeeding plays; hence its importance as the earliest discovered liturgical morality play.

The third section of the dissertation involves the visual imagery of the Ordo. It discusses the possible staging used, plus the imagery in the miniatures and descriptions of the personages as found in Hildegard's Scivias and Ordo, and concludes with a general discussion of the imagery found in the discourse of the play itself. Such an analysis is helpful in visualizing an actual performance of the Ordo Virtutum.

The twelfth century Ordo Virtutum, revealing Hildegard's freedom of dramatic invention through her use of personifications and figurations, is, then, important since it pre-dates by approximately two centuries any other known liturgical morality play.

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INTRODUCTION

The Ordo Virtutum by Hildegard von Bingen, as found in the "Riesenkodex," Hessische Landesbibliothek, Wiesbaden, cod. 2 (Rupertsberg, c. 1180-90), and in Reigen der Tugenden (Berlin, 1927), is the subject of this dissertation. Written between 1141 and 1151, the Ordo becomes extremely important, since it appears to be the earliest liturgical morality play yet discovered.

The first section of the dissertation contains a translation of the Ordo, with the original Latin text, as found in the Reigen der Tugenden, typed on the verso, and my English translation on the recto. My translation is the first of this particular text, and the only English translation of the Ordo Virtutum with the exception of Francesca Maria Steele's in The Life and Visions of St. Hildegarde (London, 1914). Steele's translation is, however, based on a faulty Latin text of the Ordo as found in the Patrologiae, ed. J. P. Migne, CXCVII, Paris, 1882.

The second section discusses the dramatic milieu of the Ordo Virtutum, separating the Ordo from the three other types of drama which existed in the twelfth century. The first of the other types was the scriptural liturgical drama; the second, the drama based on the Scriptures, but not on the liturgy; and the third, the drama based on the legends of the saints. Hildegard's Ordo exemplifies a fourth type which is based on quasi and semi religious traditions, and makes greater use of personifications than any of its preceding, contemporaneous, or succeeding plays; hence its importance as the earliest discovered liturgical morality play.

The third section of the dissertation involves the visual imagery of the Ordo. It discusses the possible staging used, plus the imagery in the pictures and descriptions of the personages as found in Hildegard's Scivias and Ordo, and concludes with a general discussion of the imagery found in the discourse of the play itself. Such an analysis is helpful in visualizing an actual performance of the Ordo Virtutum.

ORDO VIRTUTUM

[PERSONAE]

Patriarchae et Prophetae	
Animae	
Humilitas regina	
Scientia Dei	First Chorus
Caritas	
Spes	
Castitas	
Amor coelestis	
Discretio	
Fides	Second Chorus
Contemptus mundi	
Disciplina	
Patientia	
Verecundia	
Timor Dei	Third Chorus
Obedientia	
Innocentia	
Misericordia	
Victoria	
Diabolus	

CHAPTER I. THE "ORDO" OF THE VIRTUES

CHARACTERS

Patriarchs and Prophets	
Souls	
Humility, a Queen	
Knowledge of God	First Chorus
Charity	
Hope	
Chastity	
Heavenly Love	
Discretion	
Faith	Second Chorus
Contempt of the World	
Discipline	
Patience	
Modesty	
Fear of God	Third Chorus
Obedience	
Innocence	
Mercy	
Victory	
Devil	

[PRAEFATIO]

PATRIARCHAE ET PROPHETAE:

Qui sunt hi qui ut nubes?

VIRTUTES:

O antiqui sancti, quid admiramini in nobis? Verbum Dei clarescit in forma hominis, et ideo fulgemus cum illo, aedificantes membra sui pulchri corporis.

PATRIARCHAE ET PROPHETAE:

Nos sumus radices et vos rami, fructus viventis oculi, et nos umbra in illo fuimus.

[SCAENA UNA]

QUERELA ANIMARUM IN CARNE POSITARUM:

O nos peregrinae sumus. Quid fecimus, ad peccata deviantes! Filiae regis esse debuimus, sed in umbram peccatorum cecidimus. O vivens sol, porta nos in humeris tuis in justissimam haereditatem, quam in Adam perdidimus!

PROLOGUE

PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS:

Who are these who look like a cloud [Isa. 60:8][1]?

VIRTUES:

O holy ancients, what makes you wonder at us? The Word of God becomes clear in the form of man, and therefore we shine with Him [John 8:12], edifying the members of His glorious body.

PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS:

We are the roots and ye the branches, the fruit of the living bud[2] [John 15:5], and we were the shadow in Him.

SCENE ONE

THE COMPLAINT OF THE SOULS IMPRISONED IN BODIES:

Alas, we are pilgrims. What have we done, straying into sin? We ought to be daughters of the king, but into the shadow of sin we fell. O living sun, carry us on thy shoulders into the most righteous inheritance, which we

---

[1] Citations are to the Latin Vulgate.

[2] This can be translated as bud or eye in both the Latin and German.

O rex regum, in tuo proelio pugnamus.

FELIX ANIMA:

O dulcis Divinitas, et o suavis vita, in qua perferam vestem praeclaram, illud accipiens quod perdidi in prima apparitione, ad te suspiro, et omnes virtutes invoco.

VIRTUTES:

O felix anima, et o dulcis creatura Dei, quae aedificata es in profunda altitudine sapientiae Dei, multum amas.

FELIX ANIMA:

O libenter veniam ad vos, ut praebeatis mihi osculum cordis.

VIRTUTES:

Nos debemus militare tecum, o filia regis.

SED GRAVATA ANIMA CONQUERITUR:

O gravis labor, et o durum pondus quod habeo in veste hujus vitae, quia nimis grave mihi est contra carnem pugnare.

VIRTUTES AD ANIMAM ILLAM: II.Chor.

O anima, voluntate Dei constituta, et o felix instrumentum, quare tam flebilis es contra hoc quod Deus

lost through Adam! O king of kings, we are fighting in thy battle.

A FORTUNATE SOUL:

O sweet Divinity, O delightful life, in which I shall wear the brightest of garments, accepting the one which I lost in my first appearance, to thee I sigh, and invoke all the virtues.

VIRTUES:

O fortunate soul, and sweet creature of God, thou who hast been created in the deep height of God's wisdom, thou lovest much.

THE FORTUNATE SOUL:

Most willingly I will come to you, so that ye can offer me a kiss from the heart.

VIRTUES:

We ought to serve as soldiers with thee, O daughter of the king.

BUT A TROUBLED SOUL COMPLAINED:

Such hard labor, and such a heavy weight I have in the garment of this life, because it is so hard for me to fight against the body.

THE VIRTUES TO THE SOUL (Second Chorus):

O soul, created by the will of God, and most fortunate instrument, why dost thou trouble thyself so much against

contrivit in virginea natura? Tu debes in nobis superare diabolum.

ANIMA ILLA:

Succurrite mihi adjuvando, ut possim stare.

SCIENTIA DEI AD ANIMAM ILLAM:

Vide quid illud sit quo es induta, filia salvationis, et esto stabilis et numquam cades.

INFELIX ANIMA:

O nescio quid faciam, aut ubi fugiam. O vae mihi, non possum perficere hoc quod sum induta. Certe illud volo abjicere!

VIRTUTES:

O infelix conscientia, o misera anima, quare abscondis faciem tuam coram Creatore tuo?

SCIENTIA DEI:

Tu nescis, nec vides, nec sapis illum qui te constituit.

ANIMA ILLA:

Deus creavit mundum, non facio illi injuriam, sed volo uti illo.

STREPITUS DIABOLI AD ANIMAM ILLAM:

Fatua! fatua! quid prodest tibi laborare? Respice

that which God in the virgin nature destroyed? Thou oughtest to overcome the devil by our aid.

THE SOUL:

Hasten and help me to stand.

KNOWLEDGE OF GOD TO THE SOUL:

Behold what thou art clothed in, daughter of salvation, be firm and thou wilt never fall.

UNFORTUNATE SOUL:

Alas I know not what I can do, nor where I can flee. Oh woe is me, I cannot wear to the end the garment wherewith I have been clothed. Surely I wish I could shed it!

VIRTUES:

O unfortunate conscience, most miserable soul, wherefore dost thou conceal thy face in the presence of thy Creator?

KNOWLEDGE OF GOD:

Thou dost not know, neither dost thou see, nor understand Him who created thee.

THE SOUL:

God created the world, I do no harm to Him, but I wish to find Him.

THE LOUD VOICE OF THE DEVIL TO THE SOUL:

Foolish! foolish! what dost thou gain by working? Serve

mundum, et amplectetur te magno honore.

VIRTUTES: II.Chor.

O plangens vox est haec maximi doloris. Ach! ach! quaedam mirabilis victoria in mirabili desiderio Dei surrexit, in qua delectatio carnis se latenter abscondit, heu! heu! ubi voluntas crimina nescivit, et ubi desiderium hominis lasciviam fugit. Luge, luge ergo in his, innocentia, quae in pudore bono integritatem non amisisti, et quae avaritiam gutturis antiqui serpentis ibi non devorasti.

DIABOLUS:

Quae est haec potestas, quod nullus sit praeter Deum? Ego autem dico: Qui voluerit me et voluntatem meam sequi, dabo illi omnia. Tu vero tuis sequacibus nihil habes, quod dare possis, quia etiam vos omnes nescitis quid sitis.

HUMILITAS:

Ego cum meis sodalibus bene scio, quod tu es ille antiquus draco, qui super summum volare voluisti, sed ipse Deus in abyssum projecit te.

the world, and it will embrace thee with great honor.[3]

VIRTUES (Second Chorus):

O bewailing loudly is this voice of great sorrow. Alas! Alas![4] a wonderful victory has arisen in the marvelous desire of God, in which the delight of the flesh concealed itself secretly. Alas! Alas! where the will knew no fault, and where the desire of man fled lust. Lament, lament then in these things, O innocence, thou who didst not give up thy selfishness in good shame, and thou who didst not eat up the old serpent's greed of the throat there.

DEVIL:

What is this power, that no one can be beyond God? But I say: Whoever wishes to follow me and my will, I will give him all things [Matt. 4:9]. Thou, indeed, hast nothing among thy possessions, which thou canst give, because none of you know what ye are.

HUMILITY:

I and my companions know well that thou art that old dragon, who wished to fly above the Highest, but God Himself threw thee into the abyss [Isa. 14:12-15 and Apoc. 20:2-3].

[3] It should be noted that the Devil only speaks his parts whereas all the other characters sing theirs.

[4] These two words are in German in the original text.

VIRTUTES:

Nos autem omnes in excelsis habitamus.

[SCAENA DUAE]

HUMILITAS:

Ego humilitas, regina virtutum, dico: Venite ad me, virtutes, et enutriam vos ad requirendam perditam drachmam, et ad coronandam in perseverantia felicem.

VIRTUTES:

O gloriosa regina, et o suavissima mediatrix, libenter venimus.

HUMILITAS:

Ideo dilectissimae filiae, teneo vos in regali thalamo.

CARITAS:

Ego caritas, flos amabilis, venite ad me, virtutes, et perducam vos in candidam lucem floris virgae.

VIRTUTES: III.Chor.

O dilectissime flos, ardenti desiderio currimus ad te.

TIMOR DEI:

Ego timor Dei, vos felicissimas filias praeparo, ut inspiciatis in Deum vivum et non pereatis.

VIRTUES:

We, however, all have our dwelling on high.

SCENE TWO

HUMILITY:

I humility, queen of the virtues, say: Come to me, virtues, and I will nourish you until the lost drachma [Luke 15:8-9] is asked for, and until the happy crowning in perseverance.

VIRTUES:

O glorious queen, and most sweet mediatress, we come willingly.

HUMILITY:

On that account most beloved daughters, I keep you in the royal bed-chamber.

CHARITY:

I am charity, a lovely flower. Come to me, virtues, and I will bring you into the shining white light of the flower of the rod [Isa. 11:1-2].

VIRTUES (Third Chorus):

Sweetest flower, we run to thee with burning desire.

FEAR OF GOD:

I, fear of God, prepare you most fortunate daughters, that ye may look upon the living God and may not perish.

VIRTUTES: II.Chor.

O timor, valde utilis es nobis: habemus enim perfectum studium numquam a te separari.

DIABOLUS:

Euge! euge! quis est tantus timor? Et quis est tantus amor? Ubi est pugnator, et ubi est remunerator? Vos nescitis quid colitis.

VIRTUTES:

Tu autem exterritus es per summum judicem, quia inflatus superbia mersus es in gehennam.

OBEDIENTIA:

Ego lucida obedientia, venite ad me, pulcherrimae filiae, et reducam vos ad patriam et ad osculum regis.

VIRTUTES:

O dulcissima vocatrix, nos decet in magno studio pervenire ad te.

FIDES:

Ego fides, speculum vitae: venerabiles filiae, venite ad me, et ostendo vobis fontem salientem.

VIRTUTES: III.Chor.

O serena speculata, habemus fiduciam pervenire ad verum fontem per te.

VIRTUES (Second Chorus):

O fear of God, thou art exceedingly useful to us, we indeed have a perfect zeal never to be separated from thee.

DEVIL (Ironical):

Well done! well done! who is this fear? And who is this love? Where is the fighter, and where is the rewarder? Ye do not know what ye care for.

VIRTUES:

Thou, however, wast frightened by the highest judge, because thou, puffed up with pride, wast plunged into hell.

OBEDIENCE:

I am shining obedience. Come to me, most beautiful daughters, and I will bring you to the fatherland and to the kiss of the king.

VIRTUES:

Thou who callest most sweetly, it is fitting that we come to thee in great zeal.

FAITH:

I am faith, the mirror of life /I Cor. 13:12/: venerable daughters, come to me, and I will show the flowing fountain to you.

VIRTUES (Third Chorus):

Most serene observer, we have the confidence to come to the true fountain through thee.

SPES:

Ego sum dulcis conspectrix viventis oculi quam fallax torpor non decipit: unde vos, o tenebrae, non potestis me obnubilare.

VIRTUTES:

O vivens vita, et o suavis consolatrix, tu mortifera mortis vincis et vidente oculo, clausuram coeli aperis.

CASTITAS:

O virginitas, in regali thalamo stas. O quam dulciter ardes in amplexibus regis, cum te sol perfulget, ita quod nobilis flos tuus numquam cadet. O virgo nobilis, te numquam inveniet umbra in cadente flore.

VIRTUTES:

Flos campi cadit vento, pluvia spargit eum. O virginitas, tu permanes in symphoniis supernorum civium: unde es suavis flos qui numquam aresces.

INNOCENTIA:

Fugite, oves, spurcitias diaboli!

VIRTUTES:

Has te succurrente fugiemus.

HOPE:

I am the sweet viewer of the living eye whom treacherous sleepiness deceives not: whence ye, the powers of darkness, are not able to cover me.

VIRTUES:

O living life [Apoc. 21:6 and Jer. 2:13], and most sweet consoler, thou who makest death die [Isa. 25:8, Osee 13:14, 1 Cor. 15:54-55 and 2 Tim. 1:10], conquerest and with a seeing eye, openest the door of heaven when it is about to close.

CHASTITY:

O virginity, thou standest in the royal bed-chamber. O how sweetly thou burnest in the embrace of the king, while the sun shines through thee, so that thy noble flower will never smother [Matt. 6:28-29]. Most noble virgin, the shade will never find thee with a fading flower.

VIRTUES:

The flower of the field yields to the wind, the rain sprinkles it. O virginity, thou abidest in the harmonies of the celestial cities: wherefore thou art a sweet flower which wilt never dry up.

INNOCENCE:

Flee, ye sheep, from the filth of the devil!

VIRTUES:

If thou helpest us, we will flee filth.

CONTEMPTUS MUNDI:

Ego contemptus mundi, sum candor vitae. O misera terrae peregrinatio, in multis laboribus, te dimitto. O virtutes, venite ad me, et ascendamus ad fontem vitae.

VIRTUTES: I.Chor.

O gloriosa domina, tu semper habes certamina Christi. O magna virtus, quae mundum conculcas, unde etiam victoriose in coelo habitas.

AMOR COELESTIS:

Ego aurea porta, in coelo fixa sum: qui per me transit, numquam amaram petulantiam in mente sua gustabit.

VIRTUTES:

O filia regis, tu semper es in amplixibus quos mundus fugit. O quam suavis est tua dilectio in summo Deo.

DISCIPLINA:

Ego sum amatrix simplicium morum, qui turpia opera nesciunt; sed semper in regem regum aspicio, et amplector eum in honore altissimo.

VIRTUTES: I.Chor.

O tu angelica socia, tu es valde ornata in regalibus

CONTEMPT OF THE WORLD:

I, contempt of the world, am the brightness of life. Alas miserable pilgrimage of this world, in many labors, I send thee forth. O virtues, come to me, and let us ascend to the fountain of life [Apoc. 21:6 and Jer. 2:13].

VIRTUES (First Chorus):

Most glorious lady, thou always undertakest Christ's struggle. O great virtue, thou tramplest the world under foot [Gen. 3:15], whence also thou dwellest victorious in heaven.

HEAVENLY LOVE:

I am a golden gate set in heaven: who goes through me, will never taste bitter vexation in his mind.

VIRTUES:

Thou daughter of the king, thou art always in the embraces which the world flees. O how pleasing is thy love in the highest God.

DISCIPLINE:[5]

I am the lover of simple ways which know not foul works; but I always look at the king of kings, and I embrace Him in the highest honor.

VIRTUES (First Chorus):

O thou angelic companion, thou art indeed arrayed for

[5] Teaching, in the medieval sense of the word.

nuptiis.

VERECUNDIA:

Ego obtenebro et fugo atque conculco omnes spurcitias diaboli.

VIRTUTES: III.Chor.

Tu es in aedificatione coelestis Jerusalem, florens in candidis liliis.

MISERICORDIA:

O quam amara est illa duritia, quae non cedit in mentibus, misericorditer dolori succurrens! Ego autem omnibus dolentibus manum porrigere volo.

VIRTUTES: I.Chor.

O laudabilis mater peregrinorum, tu semper erigis illos, atque ungis pauperes et debiles.

VICTORIA:

Ego victoria, velox et fortis pugnatrix sum, in lapide pugno, serpentem antiquum conculco.

VIRTUTES:

O dulcissima bellatrix, in torrente fonte qui absorbuit lupum rapacem! O gloriosa coronata, nos libenter militamus te cum contra illusorem hunc.

the royal nuptials [Matt. 22:11-12].

MODESTY:

I conceal, drive away and trample under foot all the dirt of the devil.

VIRTUES (Third Chorus):

Blooming in shining white lilies, thou art in a building, the heavenly Jerusalem [Isa. 60:1-4].

MERCY:

How very bitter is that hardness, which yields not in the mind, mercifully succoring pain. But I wish to stretch out a hand to all the sorrowing.

VIRTUES (First Chorus):

O praiseworthy mother of pilgrims, thou always liftest up those, and annointest the poor and weak.

VICTORY:

I, victory, am a swift and strong fighter, I fight with a stone [I Kings 17:49], I trample the old serpent under foot [Ps. 90:13].

VIRTUES:

O most sweet warrior, who swallowed the greedy wolf in the torrent![6] O glorious crowned one, we willingly fight with thee against this deceiver [Eph. 6:11-17].

[6] I have been unable to locate the source of this allusion.

DISCRETIO:

Ego discretio, sum lux et dispensatrix omnium creaturarum, indifferentia Dei, quam Adam a se fugavit per lasciviam morum.

VIRTUTES: III.Chor.

O pulcherrima mater, quam dulcis et quam suavis es, quia nemo confunditur in te.

PATIENTIA:

Ego sum columna quae molliri non potest, quia fundamentum meum in Deo est.

VIRTUTES: I.Chor.

O firma quae stas in caverna petrae, et o gloriosa bellatrix quae suffers omnia.

HUMILITAS:

O filiae Israel, sub arbore suscitavit vos Deus; unde in hoc tempore recordamini plantationis suae; gaudete ergo, filiae Sion!

[SCAENA TRES]

VIRTUTES:

Heu! heu! nos virtutes plangamus et lugeamus, quia ovis Domini fugit vitam.

DISCRETION:

I am discretion, the light and dispenser of all creatures, the impartiality of God, whom Adam chased away from himself by his wanton ways.

VIRTUES (Third Chorus):

O most beautiful mother, how sweet and how dear thou art, because no one is confused in thee.

PATIENCE:

I am the pillar which cannot bend, because my foundation is in God.

VIRTUES (First Chorus):

So firm art thou who standest in the cavern of rock[7] [I Cor. 10:4], and so glorious a warrior art thou who holdest up all things.

HUMILITY:

O daughters of Israel, God lifted you up under the tree; whence ye remember your own planting at this time; rejoice therefore, daughters of Sion!

SCENE THREE

VIRTUES:

Alas! Alas! let us virtues complain loudly and mourn, because a sheep of the Lord flees life [Luke 15:4-7].

[7] Note that Christ is the rock.

QUERELA ANIMAE POENITENTIS ET VIRTUTES INVOCANTIS:

O vos regales virtutes, quam speciosae et quam fulgentes estis in summo sole, et quam dulcis est vestra mansio, et ideo o vae mihi, quia a vobis fugi.

VIRTUTES:

O fugitiva, veni, veni ad nos, et Deus suscipiet te.

ANIMA ILLA:

Ach! ach! fervens dulcedo absorbuit me in peccatis, et ideo non ausa sum intrare.

VIRTUTES: III.Chor.

Noli timere, nec fugere, quia pastor bonus quaerit in te perditam ovem suam.

ANIMA ILLA:

Nunc est mihi necesse ut suscipiatis me, quoniam in vulneribus foeteo, quibus antiquus serpens me contaminavit.

VIRTUTES: II.Chor.

Curre ad nos, et sequere vestigia illa, in quibus numquam cades in societate nostra, et Deus curabit te.

POENITENS ANIMA AD VIRTUTES:

Ego peccatrix quae fugi vitam, plena ulceribus veniam

THE COMPLAINT OF THE SOUL REPENTING AND INVOKING THE VIRTUES:

Ye so regal virtues, how beautiful and how shining ye are in the highest sun, and how sweet is your dwelling, and therefore, oh woe to me, because I fled from you.

VIRTUES:

Come, fugitive, come to us, and God will support thee.

THE SOUL:

Alas! Alas![8] a fiery sweetness swallowed me up in sin, and therefore I dared not enter.

VIRTUES (Third Chorus):

Fear not, nor flee, because the good shepherd searches for his lost sheep in thee [John 10:14-16].

THE SOUL:

You must now lift me up, for my wounds fester, where the old serpent poisoned me.

VIRTUES (Second Chorus):

Run to us, and follow those foot-steps, in which thou wilt never fall with our fellowship, and God will care for thee.

THE SOUL REPENTING TO THE VIRTUES:

I am a sinner who fled life,[9] I will come to you full

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[8] These two words are in German in the original text.

[9] This can be a reference to physical or spiritual death, or both.

ad vos, ut praebeatis mihi scutum redemptionis. O tu omnis militia reginae et o vos, candida lilia ipsius cum rosea purpura, inclinate vos ad me, quia peregrina a vobis exsulavi, et adjuvate me, ut in sanguine Filii Dei possim surgere.

VIRTUTES: I.et III.Chor.

O anima fugitiva, esto robusta et indue te arma lucis.

ANIMA ILLA:

Et o vera medicina, humilitas, praebe mihi auxilium, quia superbia in multis vitiis fregit me, multas cicatrices mihi imponens, nunc fugio ad te, et ideo suscipe me.

HUMILITAS:

O omnes virtutes, suscipite lugentem peccatricem in suis cicatricibus propter vulnera Christi et perducite eam ad me.

VIRTUTES: Timor Dei et Spes.

Volumus te reducere et nolumus te deserere, et omnis coelestis militia gaudet super te: ergo decet nos in symphonia sonare.

HUMILITAS:

O misera filia, volo te amplecti, quia magnus medicus dura et amara vulnera propter te passus est.

VIRTUTES:

O vivens fons, quam magna est suavitas tua, qui faciem

of sores, so that ye may hold out the shield of redemption to me. Alas all ye army of the Queen and also ye, her shining white lilies with rosy purple, incline yourselves to me, because as a pilgrim I was sent forth from thee, and help me, so that I can rise up in the blood of the Son of God.

VIRTUES (First and Third Chorus):

O fugitive soul, be strong and clothe thyself in armour of light.

THE SOUL:

Even now true medicine, Humility, hold out help to me, because pride shattered me with many vices, inflicting many wounds in me, now I flee unto thee, and therefore receive me.

HUMILITY:

All ye virtues, receive the mourning sinner with her scars because of the wounds of Christ, and lead her to me.

VIRTUES--FEAR OF GOD AND HOPE:

We are willing to lead thee back and we are unwilling to desert thee, and all the heavenly host rejoices for thee: therefore it becomes us to sing in harmony.

HUMILITY:

Most miserable daughter, I wish to embrace thee, because the great physician has suffered painful and bitter wounds on account of thee.

VIRTUES:

O living fountain [Apoc. 21:6 and Jer. 2:13], how great

istorum in te non amisisti, sed acute praevidisti, quomodo eos de angelico casu abstraheres, qui se aestimabant illud habere quod non licet sic stare: unde gaude, filia Sion, quia Deus tibi multos reddit, quos serpens de te abscindere voluit, qui nunc in majori luce fulgent, quam prius illorum causa fuisset.

/EXITUS/

DIABOLUS:

Quae es, aut unde venis? Tu amplexata es me, et ego foras eduxi te. Sed nunc in reversione tua confundis me; ego autem pugna mea dejiciam te.

POENITENS ANIMA:

Ego omnes vias meas malas esse cognovi, et ideo fugi a te; modo autem, o illusor pugno contra te.

ANIMA ILLA:

Inde tu, o regina humilitas, tuo medicamine adjuva me.

is thy sweetness, thou didst not turn thy face away from these, but foresawest keenly, how thou mightest drag them away from the fall of the angels, they who proposed to themselves to have something which may not stand thus: wherefore rejoice, daughter of Sion, because God restored many things to thee which the serpent wished to take away from thee, which now shine in greater light, than they did in the beginning.[10]

SEQUEL

DEVIL:

Who art thou, and whence dost thou come? Thou hast embraced me, and I have led thee forth. But now in thy turning back thou confoundest me; I however will hurl thee down with my assault.

THE SOUL REPENTING:

I knew all my ways to be evil, and therefore I ran away from thee; now however, O deceiver, I fight against thee.

THE SOUL:[11]

Thence thou, O Queen Humility, help me with thy medicine.

[10] The key to this cloudy passage is the notion, derived from Isaias 14, that the sin of Satan was the attempt to stand on the mountain of the Congregation (God's throne) where he could not stand. This notion finds expression in the English Cycles in the representation of Satan as trying to sit in the throne of God and being hurled from it.

[11] This is the crux. Do we have two souls or one? I presume one soul and have, therefore, put the speeches together.

HUMILITAS AD VICTORIAM:

O victoria, quae istum in coelo superasti, curre cum militibus tuis, et omnes ligate diabolum hunc.

VICTORIA AD VIRTUTES:

O fortissimi et gloriosissimi milites, venite et adjuvate me istum fallacem vincere.

VIRTUTES:

O dulcissima bellatrix, in torrente fonte qui absorbuit lupum rapacem! O gloriosa coronata, nos libenter militamus tecum contra illusorem hunc.

HUMILITAS:

Ligate ergo istum, o virtutes praeclarae!

VIRTUTES:

O regina nostra, tibi parebimus et praecepta tua in omnibus adimplebimus.

VICTORIA:

Gaudete, o sociae, quia antiquus serpens ligatus est.

VIRTUTES:

Laus tibi Christe, rex angelorum!

HUMILITY TO VICTORY:

O victory, who conquered this one in heaven, hasten with thy knights, and all of you bind this devil.

VICTORY TO THE VIRTUES:

Ye most brave and most glorious knights,[12] come and help me to conquer that deceitful one.

VIRTUES:

O most sweet warrior, who swallowed the greedy wolf in the torrent![13] O glorious crowned one, we willingly fight with thee against this deceiver [Eph. 6:11-17].

HUMILITY:

Therefore bind Satan, O very bright virtues!

VIRTUES:

O our queen, we will be obedient to thee and we will fulfill thy precepts in all things.

[They bind Satan]

VICTORY:

Rejoice, my allies, because the old serpent has been bound.

VIRTUES:

Praise to thee O Christ, king of the angels!

[12] "Knights" suggests the battle of the virtues and vices in Prudentius, always portrayed as knightly combat.

[13] See footnote six.

CASTITAS:

In mente Altissimi, o Satana, caput tuum conculcavi, et in virginea forma dulce miraculum colui, ubi Filius Dei venit in mundum: unde dejectus es in omnibus spoliis tuis, et nunc gaudeant omnes qui habitant in coelis, quia venter tuus confusus est.

DIABOLUS:

Tu nescis quid colis, quia venter tuus vacuus est pulchra forma de viro sumpta, ubi transis praeceptum quod Deus in suavi copula praecepit: unde nescis quid sis.

CASTITAS:

Quomodo posset me hoc tangere quod tua suggestio polluit per immunditiam incestus! Unum virum protuli, qui genus humanum ad se congregat contra te per nativitatem suam.

VIRTUTES: II.Chor.

O Deus, quis es tu, qui in temetipso hoc magnum consilium habuisti, quod destruxit infernalem haustum in publicanis et peccatoribus, qui nunc lucent in superna bonitate! Unde, o Rex, laus sit tibi!

CHASTITY:

In the mind of the Most High, alas Satan, I trampled thy head under foot [Gen. 3:15], and in the form of the Virgin I brought forth a sweet miracle, wherein the Son of God came into the world: whereby thou hast been cast down with all thy spoils, and now let all rejoice who dwell in the heavens, because your belly has been confounded.[14]

DEVIL:

Thou knowest not what thou bringest forth, because thy womb is empty of any fair form taken from man, wherein thou transgressest the command of pleasant intercourse which God commanded [Gen. 1:28]: wherefore thou knowest not what thou art.

CHASTITY:

How could this touch me which [Luke 1:34-36], by the impurity of unchastity, thy suggestion befouls? I brought forth one man, who, against thee, joined a human nature to Himself through His own birth.

VIRTUES (Second Chorus):

O God, who art thou, thou who within thy own person heldest this great consultation, which destroyed the infernal poison among the publicans and sinners, who now shine in the celestial goodness! Whence, O King, praise be to thee!

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[14] This clearly identifies Chastity as the Virgin.

VIRTUTES: I.et III.Chor.

O pater omnipotens, ex te fluit fons in igneo amore: perduc filios tuos in rectum ventum velorum aquarum, ita ut et nos eos hoc modo perducamus in coelestem Jerusalem.

[EPILOGUS]

In principio omnes creaturae viruerunt, in medio flores floruerunt; postea viriditas descendit. Et istud vir proeliator vidit et dixit: Hoc scio, sed aureus numerus nondum est plenus. Tu ergo, Paternum speculum, aspice, in corpore meo fatigationem sustineo, parvuli etiam mei deficiunt. Nunc memor esto, quod plenitudo quae in primo facta est, arescere non debuit, et tunc in te habuisti, quod oculus tuus numquam cederet, usque dum corpus meum videres

VIRTUES (First and Third Chorus):

O omnipotent father, from thee the fountain flows in fiery love; lead thy sons into the wind favorable for the sail of the waters, so that we also may lead them so into the celestial Jerusalem.

EPILOGUE

In the beginning all creatures grew and flourished [Gen. 1:11-12; 2:7-9], in the middle flowers bloomed; afterwards the bloom of the green grew brown. And this man, a jouster, saw and said: This I know, but the golden number[15] [Apoc. 6:11] is not yet full. Ye therefore, mirror of the Father, behold, in my body I sustain a weariness, also my little ones fall off. Now be mindful, because the fulness which was made in the beginning, ought not to run dry [Matt. 6:28-30], and then thou hadst in thyself, that thy eye[16] should never yield, until thou mightest see my

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[15] *Golden number* [tr. med. L. *aureus numerus*; so called from its importance in calculating the date of Easter]: the number of any year in the Metonic lunar cycle of nineteen years. This number for a year *N* of the Christian era is (a) the remainder of (N + 1) ÷ 19, or (b) if there be no remainder, 19. Hence these numbers are retained in the ecclesiastical calendar in connexion with the computation of the time of Easter. The golden number is found by adding 1 to the remainder left after dividing the number of the year by 19 [*O.E.D.*].

Also refers to the number of saints in Heaven, and to the fact that this number will not be completed until the end of the world.

[16] This can again be translated as bud or eye in both the Latin and German.

plenum gemmarum. Nam me fatigat, quod omnia membra mea in irrisionem vadunt. Pater, vide, vulnera mea tibi ostendo. Ergo nunc, omnes homines, genua vestra ad Patrem vestrum flectite, ut vobis manum suam porrigat.

[APPENDIX]

Qui sunt hi, qui ut nubes?

Nos autem omnes.

body full of the buds. For it wearies me, because all my members become a mockery. Father see, I show my wounds to thee. Therefore now, all men, bend your knees to your Father, so that he can stretch out His hand to you.

APPENDIX

Who are these who look like a cloud [Isa. 60:8]? We, however, are all.

CHAPTER II. THE DRAMATIC MILIEU OF THE *ORDO VIRTUTUM*

The *Ordo Virtutum* by Hildegard von Bingen, is found in the "Riesenkodex," Hessische Landesbibliothek, Wiesbaden,[1] cod. 2 (Rupertsberg, c. 1180-90), and in *Reigen der Tugenden* (Berlin, 1927). The *Reigen der Tugenden* contains some commentary about the play, a transcription of the text into German, and the only modern edition of the original Latin text, together with its musical score.

It is generally believed that Hildegard wrote the *Ordo Virtutum* in Bingen[2] between the years 1141 and 1151.[3] Such a date makes the play extremely important, since it appears to be the earliest liturgical morality play yet to be discovered. Previously, scholars like E. K. Chambers, Karl Young, O. B. Hardison, Jr., and Arnold Williams had believed that no morality plays existed before the fourteenth century, when they seem to have flourished. But Hildegard appears to have written a liturgical morality play around the middle of the twelfth century.

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[1] A city in western Germany, on the Rhine, just below Bonn; capital of Hesse.

[2] A city in western Germany at the confluence of the Rhine and the Nahe.

[3] Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (New York, 1962), III, 581.

In order to understand the nature and value of this transitional drama, some of the German, and other geographically related plays written during the twelfth century, will be examined. And while it is possible that Hildegard was not aware of the other dramas being written nearby, and that her Ordo Virtutum was written before some of the other dramas--most certainly the later twelfth century plays of the Mystere d' Adam, La Seinte Resureccion and Antichrist and possibly others which have been given no specific date other than the twelfth century--an analysis of them does reveal the dramatic milieu in which she was writing, pointing at the same time to the uniqueness of her Ordo Virtutum.

It is usually thought that the revival of drama in the ninth and tenth centuries was due to the strong influence of the liturgy within the Church. Liturgical plays arose not as dramatizations of the essential parts of the liturgy, but as deliberate additions to it. The earliest dramatic germ, which eventually developed into the Easter plays, seemed to be inspired by a brief dialogue found in the Gospel account of the Resurrection.[4] This dialogue was gradually extended and attached to the true scriptural text as an embellishment. A parallel situation can also be traced for the development of the Christmas plays.

These early scriptural liturgical plays have three characteristics in common: (a) dialogue, (b) movement, and (c) impersonation--the last being the most important. A play, in other words, is a story presented in action, in which the speakers or actors impersonate the characters concerned. The impersonation

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[4] Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford, 1933), II, 399.

> consists in physical imitation. In some external and recognizable manner the actor must pretend to be the person whose words he is speaking, and whose actions he is imitating.[5]

It follows, then, that the dialogue and physical movements of those who participate in the liturgy become drama whenever they convey a story and pretend to be the characters in the scriptural story.

The dialogue called Quem quaeritis enjoys a unique position in literary history, for it appears to be the bridge by which medieval culture made the transition from the ritual to the drama. The earliest text of the dialogue is from the monastery of St. Martial, at Limoges, and is currently located in Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS lat. 1240, Trop. Sancti Martialis Lemovicensis saec. x, fol. 30^v. From this original tenth century text, the manuscripts seem to develop in number, variety, and complexity until they emerge as the full blown Easter play known as the Visitatio Sepulchri. But unfortunately as far as the manuscript chronology goes, there is no progression evident from the simple to the complex, for the history of the Quem quaeritis is one of long periods of stagnation alternating with abrupt and unexplained changes. In the twelfth century alone, for example, there are some thirty-five versions[6] of the Quem quaeritis--covering all ranges of complexity.

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[5] Young, I, 80.

Concerning the Visitatio Sepulchri, the Easter play which eventually emerged from the Quem quaeritis trope, it is possible to recognize three marked stages of complexity: (1) the dialogue being conducted by the Marys and the angels, (2) the apostles Peter and John being added, and (3) the risen Christ being included.

There exist twenty-eight manuscripts of the Visitatio Sepulchri from the twelfth century alone; but, since some of them were written at relatively great distances from Bingen where Hildegard composed her Ordo Virtutum, they will not be considered in detail.

The first stage is represented by twelfth century manuscripts of the Visitatio Sepulchri from Utrecht in the central Netherlands, St. Gall in northeastern Switzerland, Remiremont in northeastern France, and Budapest in Hungary.[7] Nearer Bingen, there are manuscripts from Besancon in eastern France, Angers in western France, Mauri in northern France, Rheims in northeastern France, and from Paris. But none of these vary remarkably from the restricted scope of action and content, as found in the original dialogue of the *Quem quaeritis*. There is the interrogation of the three Marys concerning whom they are seeking, and their answer of "Jesus of Nazareth." This is followed by the response that "He is not here, but has risen as He said."

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[6] O. B. Hardison, Jr., Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, 1965), p. 226.

[7] For the texts of the manuscripts I rely heavily on Young's The Drama of the Medieval Church, and for the dating of the manuscripts on the appendix in Hardison's Christian Rite and Christian Drama. The texts are treated in chronological order.

There are also three additional, and similarly elementary, texts from Munich, Germany, Udine in northeastern Italy, and Oxford, England. There is also a version located in Munich, Staatsbibl., MS lat. 23037 Brev. Pruveningense saec. xii, fol. 176^{v}. This *Ordo Ad Visitandum Sepulchrum* represents the first stage--with the three Marys--but it is noteworthy for its addition of stage directions. Three priests--not wearing their white albs--proceed single-file toward the sepulcher. They are carrying a thurible and singing an antiphon concerning who is going to roll back the heavy stone from the door of the tomb. Two deacons--wearing white albs--ask the three priests whom they are seeking. The scriptural dialogue then follows. After this, a crucifix is incensed and the antiphon *Surrexit enim sicut dixit Dominus* is intoned.

Other twelfth century manuscripts representing the first stage of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* have been found at Madrid, Spain; (one performed at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem itself in 1160); at the monastery of Zwiefalten in southwestern Germany; and the island of Sicily.

These are all of the known surviving manuscripts representing the first stage of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. They are all fairly similar--with their restricted scope of action and content--even though some do add antiphons, passages from the authorized liturgy, and stage directions, to the original scriptural dialogue of the *Quem quaeritis*.

The second stage, which includes the race of Peter and John, survives in four twelfth century manuscripts. Number one is from Augsberg, Germany. This piece is very similar to that from Munich, but, in this instance, it is clear that the three priests are the three Marys as they cense the sepulcher, take up the linen cloth, and sing *Cernitis O Socii*. But unlike the Munich text, during the singing of *Currebant Duo*, Peter and John race to the tomb, still, however, without a speaking part. Number two is from Vienna, Austria. It is remarkable only for the fact that the three Marys speak of themselves in the third person, a mild impropriety. Number three is from Cracow, Poland. And the last one, noteworthy merely for its German rubrics, is from Graz in southern Austria.

The third stage of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* has fewer surviving twelfth century manuscripts than the first and second stages. Among these, a unique manuscript survives from the monastery of St. Lambrecht in Germany. It is unique as an example of congregational singing. The chief interest in the play, however, arises not from this fact, but from the representationalism disclosed in its rubrics. The angel sits upon the stone placed outside the sepulcher, and raises a curtain to reveal the burial place. The "grave-cloths" are a cloth in which is wrapped a cross and a sudary. The persons acting as Peter and John are of different ages--an old man to represent Peter, and a youth for John. Furthermore, after the apostles visit the tomb, the Marys re-enter to display the grave-cloths and elevate the cross. This re-entering of the women into the action gives the play a touch of unity and a sense of finality.[8]

Two other manuscripts representing the third stage survive from Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Ripoll in northeastern Spain.

From the above, then, it may be observed that, while some cities and monasteries were performing twelfth century versions of the Visitatio Sepulchri of the simplest composition, others were at the same time performing more complex dramas. There is no neat chronological development from the simple to the complex. But whether simple or complex, all the plays performed were closely scriptural in content and liturgical in action.

According to Karl Young's The Drama of the Medieval Church, several twelfth century manuscripts survive which, while not directly concerned with Easter itself, are, nevertheless, related to the Easter season. One is from the island of Sicily--again relatively far from where Hildegard was writing. A second is from Beauvais in

[8] Young, I, 365.

northern France, and a third from Ripoll in northern Spain. The Beauvais _Ordo ad Peregrinum in Secunda Feria Pashe ad Vespers_ shows a marked advance in structure and literary form. In the scene on the road to Emmaus, the scriptural narrative is used to its full advantage, for after the introductory hymn sung by the two disciples, the whole of St. Luke's account is presented in dialogue and a large portion of it is in verse. The variety of the metrical forms and the amplification of Biblical sentences into lengthy verses reveal the writer's literary facility. The scene at the dwelling in Emmaus, in prose, is repetitious and particularly incongruous when it has Christ speak of Himself in the third person. The remainder of the play--the report of the disciples to Thomas, and Christ's appearance eight days later before the entire apostolic group--is formed partly by unaltered passages from the Vulgate, and partly by freely invented verses. An example of lines not found in the Gospel account appears in the speech of Thomas to Christ:

> O Lord Jesus, maker of the heavens,
> I believe you to be alive, and
>   believing I make it known.
> Because I was doubtful, forgive, I pray,
> My God and my Lord.[9]

Concerning stage directions, we may safely assume that the

[9] _O Ihesu Domine, celorum conditor,_
te credo uiuere, credens et fateor.
Quod fui dubius, ignosce, deprecor,
Deus meus et Dominus meus.
Young, I, 469.

play was performed with appropriate costumes and stage props, although the rubrics do not give many details. As to the time of performance, we know from the text itself that the play was performed during Vespers on Easter Monday.

The third play related to the Easter season survives, as has been stated above, from Ripoll in northern Spain. Its text is somewhat disordered, and is obviously distant from Bingen.

Besides the scriptural liturgical Easter plays, three Nativity plays (Pastores) survive from the twelfth century. The first is an amplified Christmas trope from Bobbio in northwestern Italy. There are also references to tropes at Niverness, Oscense, Ravenna, Piacenza, Vercelli, Pistoia, Limoges, Huesca, and Sammaglorianum.

A more highly developed version of a twelfth century Officium Pastorum does, however, survive from the liturgical traditions of Rouen in northern France. The singing of the Te Deum precedes the play, during which

> seven youths costume themselves with amices, albs, tunics, and staffs, to represent shepherds. As they take their places in the church at the beginning of the action, a choir-boy stationed aloft, costumed as an angel, announces the Nativity to them (Nolite timere), and is supported by other angels who sing Gloria in excelsis. The shepherds then proceed to the praesepe--situated, presumably, behind the main altar--singing the appropriate processional Transeamus usque Bethlehem. Here occurs the usual dialogue, only slightly modified,

> between the shepherds and two clerics whom we may assume to be costumed for representing the midwives. In the Mass which follows, the shepherds begin the introit and rule the choir. They assume a similar responsibility also in Lauds.[10]

Related to the Nativity plays are several surviving twelfth century Magi plays (Officium Stellae). The scriptural text, upon which these Magi plays are based, relates the bringing of the gifts by the kings of the East. Such a passage would seem to invite the clergy to transform their oblation at Mass into a scene representing the kings bringing their gifts to the manger at Bethlehem. Such an invitation was not overlooked, as shown from the text used at Limoges in west-central France. From the text it appears that after the singing of the offertory, three cantors, dressed to represent the three kings, enter the church through the main door, proceed with measured step, and sing the prose O Quam Dignis. Then they proceed to the middle of the church where they see a star, hanging from a cord. Guided by the star, they go to the high altar where they present their gifts. Then a boy behind the altar sings to the kings the hymn Nuntium Vobis Fero De Supernis. Astonished, the three kings withdraw from the Church by way of the sacristy door.

This play dramatizes the traditional oblation. The clergy and the congregation are represented by the three kings, and the placing of the gifts upon the high altar

[10] Young, II, 13-14.

represents the traditional oblation of the people.

For the utterances of the personages, the author relies not solely on the Scripture, but on the liturgy itself. The _O Quam Dignis_ is from the liturgy and the _Nuntium Vobis_ is the first stanza of a traditional hymn. For the stage arrangements, the three cantors with their vessels are clearly impersonations of the three kings. The star, hanging from a cord, places the scene in Bethlehem; and the high altar on which the gifts are placed represents the crib itself.

A second manuscript survives from Nevers in central France. The text is unfortunately disordered but is valuable because it shows that by the twelfth century, the clerics at Nevers were sufficiently interested in the Epiphany play to undertake the elaborating of their simpler eleventh century form.

A third manuscript, a fragment, survives from Munich.

In the three texts just mentioned, it should be noted that the shepherds do not appear. The simplest extant version of the _Officium Stellae_, our fourth example, in which the shepherds appear is from the island of Sicily. The dialogue between the Magi and the shepherds is introduced immediately after the Magi have talked to Herod. But it should be noted that the presence of the shepherds does not occur in the center of the dramatic interest. More and more, the center of dramatic interest lies at the court of Herod.

A fifth twelfth century text survives from Montpellier in southern France. Remarkable for its dramatic amplification, the play is noteworthy for the speeches of the Magi to Herod. Without waiting for Herod to speak, the first of the Magi elegantly asks Herod the purpose of the interview. The two other Magi utter unintelligible gibberish, designed to convey a concrete impression of their foreign nationality. Furthermore, a new character, Archelaus, the son of king Herod, is introduced into the Officium Stellae. This introduction adds to the dramatic apprehension concerning the power of the newborn king.

A sixth manuscript is from the monastery of Bilsen in Belgium. Its text is very defective but contains some innovations--most of which are directed toward making the Herod scene the center of dramatic interest. Herod has the Magi jailed for a time and then threateningly interrogates them as to the regions from which they come. Herod's impetuosity and gestures of anger, his lofty language and his bewilderment all aid in advancing his personage closer to the sinister comic type which was to prevail in later medieval dramas. Most striking about the play, however, is the fact that the rubrics are versified. A writer who undertakes to present his stage directions in hexameters would seem to have abandoned the purpose of moving an audience, and to have occupied himself more with impressing a reader. It may be, then, that the Bilsen play was not designed for use upon a stage.

A seventh and final manuscript survives from the twelfth century. But its place of composition is uncertain and the text itself is only a fragment of the original.

It should once more be emphasized at this point that all the dramatic pieces mentioned so far--from the Quem quaeritis to the plays of the Magi--represent scriptural liturgical drama. In each case, most of the content is taken directly from the Scriptures. The personages and the incidents brought upon the stage are known to us through the Bible. The action, however, is based upon the liturgical ceremonies of the Church and is suitable for performance within a church, since it is closely related to the liturgical year of the Church--some plays being centered around the Easter season and others around the Christmas liturgy; since all of them are set to music--with either the characters of the dramas singing, or some type of congregational singing at the conclusion; and since each contains a processional of a sort with which the liturgy of the Church abounds. The Easter season plays have processions of the three Marys, and sometimes Peter and John, to the sepulcher. In the Christmas plays, there are the processions of the Magi, and sometimes the shepherds, to the manger.

The twelfth century had also a second type of drama. This type was based on the Scriptures but was not actually part of the liturgy. Unlike the scriptural liturgical plays which were limited in the amount of free invention the author could employ, by the Biblical passages and the

Church ceremonies, the plays based on the Scriptures but not part of the liturgy, allowed the author a greater freedom for dramatic amplifications of the sacred writings and a wider range for the type and extent of action within the play. Examples of this type of drama are the plays of Lazarus, Isaac and Rebecca, and Daniel.

Two Lazarus plays survive, one from Fleury in northern France. This former twelfth century Incipiunt Uersus De Resuscitacione Lazari begins with Jesus accepting Simon's invitation to a meal in his house. During the meal, Mary Magdalen falls at Jesus' feet and He pronounces His forgiveness. The action next resumes at Bethany, where Lazarus lies mortally ill. While Martha is lamenting Jesus' absence, Mary sends messengers to Him in Galilee. Jesus comes and brings the dead man to life, at which time the chorus sings the Te Deum.

Most of the sequence and structure of this play come from the Gospel, but notable amplifications of the Biblical text are found in the laments of the sisters of Lazarus and the condolences of their friends. These laments and condolences show a certain poetical feeling and are written--as is also the rest of the play--in a learned six-line strophic form, rhyming aabccb. The style achieves a sustained elevation and gravity worthy of such a pathetic subject.

Four places or sedes are required for the staging, representing the house at Bethany, Galilee, Jerusalem, and the tomb of Lazarus.[11]

A second twelfth century play about Lazarus also survives. It is the Svscitacio Lazari. This play is the first to which we can attach the name of the author, for it was written by a wandering scholar known as Hilarius. It is generally surmised that he spent part of his life in western France "since he writes...about persons associated with Angers and its neighbourhood."[12] Hilarius' Svscitacio Lazari makes noticeable additions to the highly developed laments of Martha and Mary, and assigns Lazarus a speaking part after his resurrection. The laments achieve genuine grief and the participation of Lazarus provides an impressive conclusion to the play. Generally speaking, Hilarius' play shows a greater freedom and variety in its verse than the Fleury play. Furthermore, the speeches are more flexible and the over-all impression of the play is one of freshness and animation.

A twelfth century Isaac and Rebecca play survives from Vorau in southeastern Austria. It is unusual for its ambitious details of staging. It has three main sedes; one for Jacob and Rebecca, and one each for Essau and Isaac. The sedes are supplied with beds and other furnishings, and Esau and Isaac are each supplied with a kitchen.

The play is unusual for the typology distributed through the action. At the beginning, the choristers sing a typology in which they interpret Isaac's physical weaknesses as a prefiguration of Christian realities. Later, they sing another typology explaining that Esau symbolizes the Jews, and Jacob the Christians. Still later, they sing a typology about the two kids which Jacob has killed. These and other attempts to supply Biblical interpretations are valuable since they significantly contribute toward establishing the figure of the expositor familiar in later medieval drama, even though they are sometimes irksome in interrupting the dramatic action.

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[11] It is possible that a single place could have served both as the house of Simon and that of Lazarus.

[12] Young, II, 211.

Two Daniel plays of the twelfth century survive. One is by Hilarius. It surpasses most of the compositions previously examined. The meters are varied, and the processional pieces, which mark the entrances of important personages, produce an effect of stateliness that is well suited to the situation. And finally, there is the ambitious staging prescribed in the rubrics. Rich and brilliant costumes, as well as military escorts are provided for the kings of the play. The other play about Daniel is from Beauvais in northern France. While quite similar to Hilarius' Daniel, the Beauvais play differs most noticeably in the dignity and gusto of its choral pieces, in the presence of sentences and phrases in French, and in its increased pageantry through the use of more actors and the employment of musical instruments.

A third type of drama existed in the twelfth century.

This type was free from the dramatic limitations of both the Scriptures and the liturgy, and, as a result, gave the author an even wider scope for invention. Such plays were usually based on the legends of the saints. The best examples of this type are found in the many surviving twelfth century plays about St. Nicholas.

The plays which centered around the "cult" of St. Nicholas, prospered in the northern, central and eastern parts of France at this time. In this region, probably at least four of his legends were given dramatic form: the dowry legend, the story of the reviving of three young scholars, the miracle of the image, and the rescue of the son of Getron.

A manuscript concerning the legend of the three scholars survives from Einsiedeln in central Switzerland, but since it is relatively distant from Bingen, it need not be considered. A second manuscript of the twelfth century, concerning the same subject, has been discovered. It is by Hilarius, bears the title *Lvdus svper Iconia Sancti Nicolai* and bears on a miracle of the image of St. Nicholas. A certain pagan, Barbarus, has learned to trust in the magical properties of an image of St. Nicholas. So, when he leaves on a journey, he entrusts his house to the protection of that image. But robbers come and steal everything out of his house. Upon his return, Barbarus denounces and beats the image. Meanwhile, St. Nicholas appears to the robbers and gets them to return the plunder.

When this is done, Barbarus joyfully gives thanks to the image. Now St. Nicholas appears to Barbarus and encourages him to transfer his gratitude to the Almighty. Accordingly, Barbarus repents and declares his belief in Christ, the Son of God.

From the point of view of stagecraft, Hilarius' *Lvdus svper Iconia Sancti Nicolai* is notable for its restriction in the number of speakers. Only two figures, St. Nicholas and Barbarus, have speaking parts; and although the robbers have ample opportunities for dramatic action, their silence limits possibilities for characterization and theatrical variety. Actually, Barbarus does most of the talking, disclosing an unusual variety of verse forms. For each of his principal speeches, he uses a special stanzaic form, differentiating his several moods; e.g. to express confidence in the image, he uses iambic tetrameter, rhyming aaab:

> Nicholae, quidquid possideo,
> hoc in meo misi teloneo;
> te custodem rebus ad/h/ibeo;
> serua que sunt ibi.

To express rage over his loss, he uses iambic trimeter, also rhyming aaab:

> Grauis sors et dura!
> Hic reliqui plura,
> sed sub mala cura.
> Deus! quel domage!

To express glee over the recovery, he uses iambic trimeter, rhyming abab, the last line being a vernacular refrain:

> Nisi uisus fallitur,
> io en ai,
> tesaurus hic cernitur.
> De si grant merueille en ai.

And to express a convert's penitence at the end, he again uses iambic trimeter, rhyming abab, the last line again being a vernacular refrain:

> *Sup[p]lex ad te uenio,*
> *Nicholax;*
> *nam per te recipio*
> *tut icei que tu gardas.*[13]

Besides the third type of drama to which the St. Nicholas dramas belong, a fourth type also existed in the twelfth century. This last type allows the author the greatest freedom for dramatic invention, for it is limited neither by the Scriptures nor the liturgy nor the legends of the saints but rather is based on *quasi* or semi religious traditions. For the use of personifications and figurations, it is partially based on the traditions of Prudentius. Examples of this type, all of which are later than Hildegard's *Ordo Virtutum*, are the *Mystere d' Adam*, *La Seinte Resureccion*, and the Antichrist. With its wide range of freedom, Hildegard's Ordo Virtutum also exemplifies this type. It does, however, make greater use of personifications than any of its preceding, contemporaneous, or succeeding plays; hence, its importance as the earliest discovered liturgical morality play.

---

[13] Nicholas, whatever I possess,
I put this in my strong box;
I employ you as a guardian for these things;
guard those things that are here.

Heavy and hard fate!
I left many more things in this place,
but under evil care.
God! what a pity!

Unless my sight is mistaken,
I have some,
the treasures are perceived here.
I wonder greatly about it.

Humbly I come to you,
Nicholas,
for through you I recover
all the things that you guarded.
Young, II, 338-340.

Turning our attention to the Mystere d' Adam, we establish that it

> survives in a unique manuscript from the thirteenth century but is dated, on the basis of language and versification, between 1146 and 1174. It contains 942 lines written in octosyllabic and decasyllabic couplets and is punctuated with Latin stage directions, readings, and responsories. Although titled 'the play of Adam' (Ordo representacionis Ade), it consists of three dramatic pieces, the Fall of Man (ll. 1-590), the Murder of Abel (ll. 591-744), and the Prophets of Christ (ll.745-942).[14]

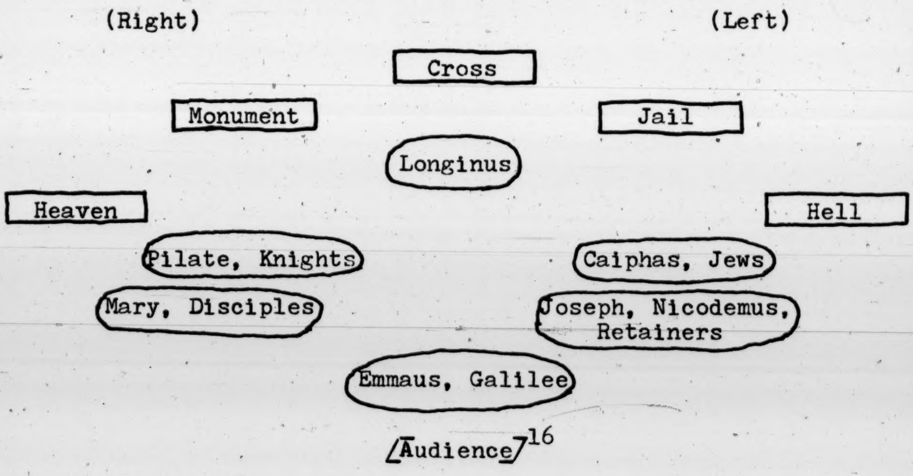
The Mystere d' Adam is apparently from Normandy and is Anglo-Norman in language. It is independent of the liturgy, although some of the action is still presented in the liturgical mode, and is far more complex than any of the surviving Latin Biblical plays. It reveals the existence of a strong vernacular tradition in the twelfth century. This tradition was, undoubtedly, branching off from the scriptural liturgical drama, but must have occurred before the scriptural liturgical plays developed their more complex forms.[15]

[14] Hardison, p. 253.

[15] Hardison, p. 257.

As to the structural content of the play, the arrangement ~~of~~ the episodes is relatively simple. The action itself requires only two *sedes*, Paradise and the world, in addition also the two "off-stage locations" of Heaven and Hell--from which non-human characters appear and to which human characters are led. The action moves from the first station, Paradise, to the second, the world, after the Fall, and the human characters do not travel back and forth between stations. For this reason the dialogue is not interrupted by the movement of the characters. Instead, the action is divided into episodes by seven Latin responses sung by the choir.

As to the actual plans of the *sedes*, several arrangements have been suggested. The most plausible is the following:


(Right)
(Left)
Cross
Monument
Jail
Longinus
Heaven
Hell
Pilate, Knights
Caiphas, Jews
Mary, Disciples
Joseph, Nicodemus, Retainers
Emmaus, Galilee
[Audience][16]

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[16] Hardison, p. 266.

Such an arrangement enables all the action to be kept before the audience, with a minimum of obstruction. The action of the play naturally falls into movements across the stage in front of the audience, or movements toward or away from the Cross.

In subject matter and technique then, the *Mystere d' Adam* is not based solely on the Scriptures, the liturgy, and the legends of the saints. It lacks the ceremonial element found in the Latin drama. It is based on non-dramatic sources rather than on traditional ritual patterns, and it is consciously constructed in the representational mode.

The second example of this group, *La Seinte Resureccion*, is also Anglo-Norman. It was written around 1175 and survives in two manuscripts. The first dates from around 1275 and is from Canterbury. The second ("P") is from the *Bibliotheque Nationale* in Paris and dates from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

> *La Seinte Resureccion* is also markedly independent of the liturgical tradition. It has no Latin passages, no suggestion of attachment to a church festival or service, and no reference indicating that it was performed in or near a church. It requires an elaborate *mise en scene* involving fourteen "places," a minimum of forty-two performers, and sophisticated stage props such as a cross with a detachable figure that can be made to "bleed" when struck with a spear. Of the 371 lines of "P," 80 are stage directions, yet in these 80 lines there is not a single suggestion of liturgical costumes, clerical actors, a choir, or such liturgical properties as thuribles, sindon, or candles. The movements

> of the actors are evidently representational rather than ceremonial, and the audience never becomes involved in the play's action. In short, while all surviving Latin Easter plays have obvious ceremonial vestiges, La Seinte Resureccion has none.[17]

The last important drama of this group to be considered is the twelfth century Antichrist, written in Latin, perhaps at Tegernsee, in the Bavarian Alps.

Antichrist, according to the common understanding of the medieval Church, was the false Messiah. He was the adversary and complete opposite of Christ, who was expected to appear upon the earth to deceive and corrupt the faithful before the second coming of the Redeemer and the Last Judgement. He was to be arrogant, an expert in crime, and a perverter of the Gospel, that is, the opposite of Christ in all respects.

At the beginning of this play, the stage is arranged in the following way, according to the opening rubrics.

---

[17] Hardison, pp. 254-255.

N.

W.

Station of Emperor of Rome

Station of King of Teutons
and that of King of Franks

E.

Temple of God

Station of King of Jerusalem
and that of Synagoga (Jewelry)

S.

King of Greeks

King of Babylon and that
of Gentilitas (Paganism)[18]

The action proper opens with the Emperor of Rome proclaiming that all the kings of the earth must pay tribute to the Roman Empire. The kings resist at first, but one by one the Franks, the Greeks and the people of Jerusalem are conquered and become subservient. But then the King of Babylon attacks Jerusalem. The Emperor of Rome helps the Christians win this battle and then entrusts his imperial power to the King of Kings in the Temple. In part two of the play, Antichrist enters the Temple with the personifications of Hypocrisy on his right hand and Heresy on his left. All proceed to the King of Jerusalem where the Hypocrites join with Antichrist. Next, Antichrist overthrows the King of Jerusalem, and also the Greeks, the Franks, the Teutons, and the King of Babylon. After this, Antichrist fools the personification of Synagoga into thinking he is the Emmanuel. For this, Synagoga is put to death. At the close of the play, all the kings assemble before Antichrist. There occurs thunder and suddenly Antichrist collapses. Finally, all the kings return to the faith and the personification of Ecclesia receives them back.[19]

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[18] Sarah F. Barrow and William H. Hulme, trans., Antichrist and Adam. Two Mediaeval Religious Dramas in Western Reserve U. Bulletin, vol. 28 (Cleveland, Aug. 1925), 15.

As to the actual circumstances under which the play was performed, we have no information. There is nothing to show that it was acted in connection with the liturgy, or even within a church. It contains one or two liturgical pieces, and includes choral repetitions suggestive of liturgical singing, but these do not establish it as directly related to the services of the Church. They simply indicate that the play has retained some of the aspects of the liturgical mode of presentation even though it is basically independent of it.

But no matter where it was performed, the Antichrist is noteworthy for several reasons. First, there is the appearance of the personifications of Hypocrisy, Heresy, Synagoga and Ecclesia. These personifications are important, since they are the only ones, other than Hildegard's, who must be earlier, to appear in a twelfth century play. They

[19] Barrow and Hulme, pp. 15-32.

are prime examples of the freedom of characterization allowed to the author when he is not bound by the Scriptures, the liturgy, and the legends of the saints. And they are precedents for the personifications which were to become so important in the morality plays which later flourished in the fourteenth century.

What the personifications of Hypocrisy, Heresy, Synagoga and Ecclesia personify is obvious. Synagoga is the Jewish synagogue and Ecclesia is the Roman Catholic Church, for Ecclesia enters the play in the garb of a woman protected by a breastplate and wearing a crown. She comes forward by the help of the personifications of Mercy with the oil (on her right) and Justice with the scales and sword (on her left). The Pope follows her, with the Clergy on his right hand and the Roman Emperor on his left.

And second, Antichrist is noteworthy for its orderly and harmonious structure. The wide scope of the action is presented clearly and with vitality. Religious feeling, traditional legend, political opinion and German patriotism are all combined into a drama which may be regarded as the best literary product of twelfth century Germany.

This Tegernsee Antichrist and all the preceding plays present the dramatic climate within which Hildegard wrote her Ordo Virtutum. The scope and the range of twelfth century drama--particularly in Germany and France--is almost overwhelming. The simplest of scriptural liturgical drama, the Quem quaeritis, was being performed at the same time as the more developed Visitatio Sepulchri. And alongside the Easter plays are found all the ranges of simplicity and complexity within the Nativity plays which were so closely connected to the liturgy of the Church. Moreover, other plays, such as the plays of Lazarus, Isaac and Rebecca, and Daniel, were breaking away from the liturgy. Still others, that is, the plays about St. Nicholas, were breaking away from both the Scriptures and the liturgy. Finally, still others as the Mystere d' Adam, La Seinte Resureccion and Antichrist, were exercising still greater powers of invention to form new ways for dramatic productions. Such, indeed, was this aspect of the intellectual climate in which Hildegard wrote her liturgical morality play, the Ordo Virtutum.

CHAPTER III. THE VISUAL IMAGERY OF THE ORDO VIRTUTUM

To visualize an actual performance of Hildegard's Ordo Virtutum and to understand the thematic significance of the personages within the play, it is helpful to consider (1) the staging of the play; (2) the imagery used to describe the external appearances of the various personages, which, in turn, leads to an understanding of the thematic significance of the personages as they function within the Ordo, and (3) some of the remaining imagery as it is found in the discourse spoken by the personages.

It is unfortunate that the floor plan of the convent at Rupertsberg, which was on an exposed and unfertile hill above the Rhine near Bingen, is not extant. For the convent was burned in 1632[1] and the remaining foundations were covered over in the rebuilding. Either the plan or the foundations could have given valuable information as to the staging of this play within the confines of Hildegard's convent. The Ordo itself, especially the "Personae" at its beginning, does, however, supply some internal clues for the staging. The "Personae" lists Humility separately since this virtue is often considered as the source or mother for all the other virtues, but the remaining sixteen virtues are divided into three Choruses; the first consisting of the six virtues, Knowledge of God, Charity, Hope, Chastity, Heavenly Love, and Discretion; the second of the five virtues, Faith, Contempt of the World, Discipline, Patience, and Modesty; and the third of the five virtues, Fear of God, Obedience, Innocence, Mercy and Victory. The division into three Choruses points to the following as a possible staging:

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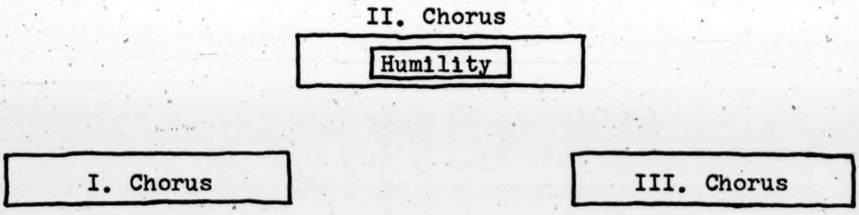
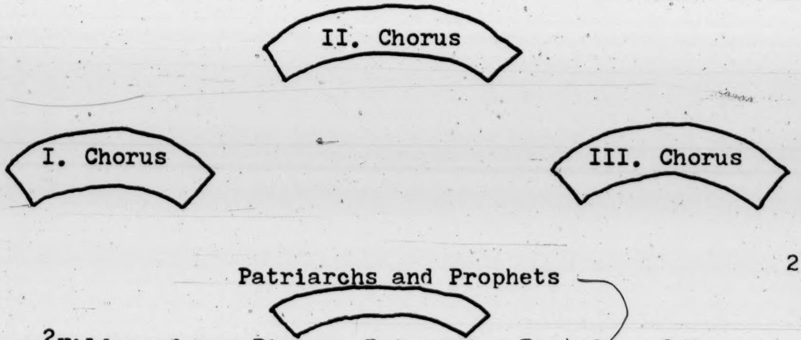
[1] During the Thirty Years' War, around Easter time, on April 18, 1632, Alexander Hanna, a Swedish corporal, set fire to, plundered, and destroyed Rupertsberg as much as possible. This information is from a Handschriftliche Notiz des Caspar Lerch von Dirmstein im groszen Hildegard Codex 2 zu Wiesbaden as quoted in Benediktiniche Monatscrift: Zur Plege Religioesen Unde Geistigen Lebens, Herausgegeben Von Der Erzabtei, XI Heft 9-12 (Beuron-Hohenzollern, 1929), 464.



Such a plan emphasizes Humility as the source or mother for all the other virtues. Another possibility is



[2] Hildegard von Bingen, Reigen der Tugenden. Ordo Virtutum (Berlin, 1927), p. 77.

Neither plan can be documented as actual fact, but both seem reasonable in terms of the evidence that remains. Furthermore, the exact place within the convent where such staging could have been used, can not be documented either. But the inclusion of the Devil within the *Ordo*, does exclude the use of the convent church. Perhaps the performance was given in the refectory, on the church steps, in the central courtyard if Rupertsberg had one, or in an open space near the convent.

The personages of the *Ordo Virtutum* are best understood by means of the pictures and descriptions of the virtues in the *Scivias*. The virtues are the main personages of the *Ordo*. The *Scivias*, in turn, is a long prose work which records Hildegard's visions, three books and twenty-six visions in all. It is important since it actually contains the *Ordo* in the thirteenth vision of the third book, and since there is the possibility that its structure contains the dramatic elements which can be detected in the *Ordo* itself.

The *Scivias* was originally written by the saint to teach the ignorant clergy of her time. It develops views on the Universe, on the theory of Macrocosm and Microcosm, the structure of Man; and Birth, Death, and the nature of the Soul. The *Scivias* also discusses the importance of the virtues by explaining the idea of "viriditas." "Viriditas" literally means greenness; symbolically, growth or the principle of life. According to Hildegard, and other thinkers of her time, life from God was transmitted into the plants, animals, and precious gems. Man, in turn, ate the plants and animals and acquired some of the gems, thereby obtaining "viriditas." Man then gave out "viriditas" through the virtues, hence their importance in the chain of being.

The illuminated manuscript of Hildegard's Scivias in the provincial library at Wiesbaden is in excellent preservation and is of the highest value to the history of medieval art. It was prepared in or near Bingen at about the time of Hildegard's death. Its miniatures help greatly in the interpretation of the visions, illustrating them often in the minutest details. In view of the great difficulty in visualizing much of her narrative, critics generally believe that the preparation of these miniatures was either supervised by Hildegard herself or derived from her immediate tradition.

Since the Scivias refers throughout to the various virtues of the Ordo Virtutum, actually a part of the Scivias, the miniatures are helpful in visualizing the external appearances of the virtues themselves. Some can be found in Charles Singer's From Magic to Science, London, 1928, and Francesca Maria Steele's The Life and Visions of St. Hildegarde, London, 1914, but most can be found in Hildegard von Bingen, Wisse Die Wege. Scivias, trans. Maura Bockeler, Salzburg, 1954, which contains photo-reprints of the miniatures in the original manuscript. Six of the miniatures are concerned with the personages of the Ordo, namely: the Prophet, the Soul and Its Tabernacle, the Departure of the Soul from Its Tabernacle, Faith under Temptation, the Tempter, and the Chained Devil. Colored photographs of these miniatures are included in the following discussion of the descriptions of the virtues.

In discussing the personages of the Ordo Virtutum, the miniature will be given first, providing the Scivias contains one for the particular personage. Second, will be a passage from the Scivias which describes the external appearance of the personage. Such a passage will contain information helpful in visualizing what the virtue looked like in an actual performance on stage. Third, a passage, again from the Scivias, interpreting what the external appearance signifies, will be given. Such a passage will, for example, explain why the personage Hope wears an olive-green tunic in the Ordo, rather than some other color, and how the olive-green is related to the meaning of Hope. In most cases, the explanation will lead to an understanding of the thematic significance of the personage. Fourth and last, will be a quotation from the Ordo itself, revealing that the personage actually functions in the play according to its thematic significance. The order is, then, from the visual, external appearance of the personage, to the interpretation of the particular appearance, to the application of this interpretation to the Ordo. This order is followed for all twenty-one personages of the play.

In writing the Scivias and the Ordo Virtutum, Hildegard considered herself as a prophet. In the Preface of the Scivias, she describes herself as writing under the inspiration of God. The following miniature accompanies this description.

Figure 1. The Prophet[3]

Figure 1 shows Hildegard herself, sitting in her tower or convent, receiving the divine inspiration for her writing through the tongues of fire, while her scribe sits nearby transcribing the text. Hildegard maintains the role of a prophet throughout the Scivias and on into the Ordo Virtutum.

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[3] Hildegard von Bingen, Wisse Die Wege. Scivias, trans. Maura Bockeler (Salzburg, 1954), p. 17.

The Prophets, together with the Patriarchs, open the Ordo with several statements which comprise the Prologue of the play. In external appearance as described in the Scivias, they are portrayed as sitting upon the various branches and boughs of a vine which is climbing from the ground to the top of a pillar. They face both north and east and are arranged in a specific order with Abraham sitting on the first bough, Moses on the second, Josue on the third, and the rest of the Patriarchs and Prophets thus arranged upwards on the various branches of the vine (III, iv; 601).[4]

From the Scivias' description of the external appearance of the Patriarchs and Prophets, it becomes clear that they must have been presented like statues in the Ordo. They do not hurry to and fro across the stage, but remain stable as fixed statues. Such, in fact, is the case with all twenty-one personages of the Ordo, for there is little physical movement on stage, except for the binding of the Devil in the Sequel. Most of the personages stand, completely like statues, in groups or choruses to recite their various discourses.

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[4] I have drawn upon material in the Scivias in order to help establish the visual aspects of the personages of the Ordo Virtutum, which actually comes in the thirteenth vision of the third book of the Scivias. I have translated the material from the original Latin of the Scivias as found in Sanctae Hildegardis, Scivias in the Patrologiae, ed. J. P. Migne, CXCVII, Paris, 1882. Rather than footnote each reference, I have chosen to cite the source of the material in parenthesis within the text. The large Roman numeral refers to the book number within the Scivias, the small Roman numeral to the vision within the particular book, and the Arabic number to the column in the Patrologia text.

After the external appearance, the Scivias relates the significance of the Patriarchs and Prophets. Their thematic significance is to reveal the mystery of the Word of God with justice according to the precepts of the Old Law (III, iv; 602). The Patriarchs and Prophets are in this sense, then, a figure of the Old Law, the Old Testament.

It is fitting that they introduce the Ordo which, being a dramatization of the fall and rebirth of a particular Soul, and in a sense, of all souls, begins with the Old Law, passes through the fall of mankind and his rebirth through the conquest of the devil by the coming of Christ with His virtues in the New Law, to conclude with the second coming of Christ in His glory at the end of time.

It seems that in her Prologue Hildegard is following the precedent of Prudentius, who opens the Psychomachia with the story of Abraham rescuing Lot. Abraham is an Old Testament figuration of Faith, which is the first virtue he treats.

After the Prologue, with the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Ordo Virtutum moves into Scene One where the personages of the Souls are introduced. The Soul was often concretized in medieval art as a small nude personage which was transfused by God into the human body. The small nude looked something like an infant, yet contained the characteristics of an adult.

First, a look at the miniatures.

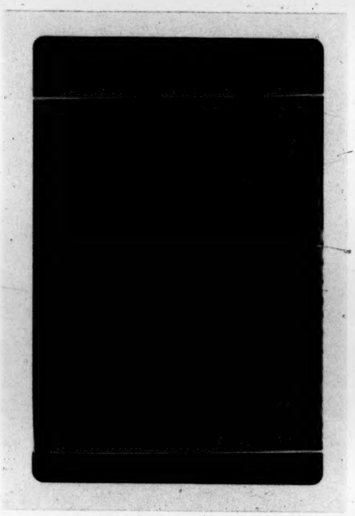

Figure 2. The Soul and Its Tabernacle

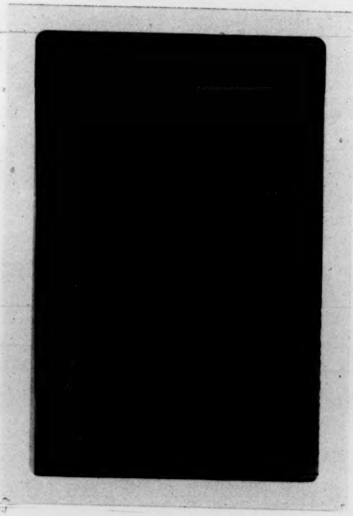

Figure 3. The Departure of the Soul from Its Tabernacle[5]

[5] Hildegard, *Wisse Die Wege*, p. 25 and p. 29.

Figure 2 comes from Book One, Vision Four of the *Scivias*, and shows the Soul, with its adult characteristics, being sent into the body by God. Figure 3 also appears in Book One, Vision Four of the *Scivias*. It should be noted that in this miniature it is somewhat questionable whether the Soul is represented by a small female personage or not. If it is female, this is a departure from the usual medieval representation of the Soul as sexless.

The external appearance of the Soul as a small nude personage would have been difficult to portray in an actual performance of the *Ordo*, unless some representational method, such as a doll, was used.

As for the interpretation of the external appearance of the Soul in the *Scivias*, the first miniature presents the small nude as being sent into the body by God. This represents the Soul as the source of life within the body. The square with its many eyes is an apocalyptic representation of God, the many eyes signifying the omniscience of God and the three divisions in the square signifying the three persons in one God. The people with the loaves of bread are personifications of goodness, the beast stealing some of the bread is a personification of evil. The five smaller frames on the right side of the miniature portray the Soul at its various stages of development, always with the personification of evil present. The second miniature presents the small nude as being breathed forth, almost as a last breath, from the mouth of the dying person. Again the significance of this is that the Soul is the source of life within the body. The Soul is received either by the forces of good to be taken to its reward, or by the forces of evil to be taken to its punishment. All of this is again done under the surveillance of God, represented at the top of the miniature as the hand reaching down from the cloud.

The importance of the visuals of the Soul as found in the miniatures is that they relate the concept of the Soul within the body. Now, in relation to the Ordo, this concept is exactly consistent with that found within the discourse spoken by the Soul. For Scene One opens with the complaint of the Souls imprisoned in the body. The dialogue moves on with the comments of a fortunate Soul until a troubled Soul complains that

> such hard labor, and such a heavy weight I have in the garment of this life, because it is so hard for me to fight against the body.[6]

The unfortunate Soul, encased in the body, is tempted by the Devil and pleads with the virtues to help her. Various virtues respond, and finally, at the end of Scene One, Humility enters.

Humility, the first of the virtues listed in the "Personae" and the only virtue listed as being separated from the three Choruses, is described in the Scivias as a personage

[6] O gravis labor, et o durum pondus quod habeo in veste hujus vitae, quia nimis grave mihi est contra carnem pugnae.

> carrying a golden crown placed on her head, having three boughs appearing higher, and glittering with much embellishment in most precious stones of green and red color and in white pearls. On her breast, in truth, she had the clearest mirror, in which the image of the incarnate Son of God appeared with astonishing clarity. And she said: I am the pillar of humble minds, and the slayer of proud hearts. I began in the lowest place and ascended to the loftiness of heaven; Lucifer raised himself on high beyond himself, and fell down low below himself. Whoever wishes to imitate me, desiring to be my Son, if he is eager to embrace motherhood for me by finishing my work in me, this one undertakes the foundation, and mounts gradually upwards to the heights (III, viii; 652-653).[7]

This description of the external appearance of Humility leads to the likelihood that on stage she must have worn a golden crown decorated with green and red stones, plus imitations of white pearls. Three sprigs or tree branches must have extended from the top of the crown. Further, she must have worn a crucifix on her breast, or perhaps carried a picture of Christ in front of her.

As to the thematic significance of these externals, the golden crown with its precious stones and imitations of pearls is a sign of Humility's superiority to the other virtues, placed there, according to the Scivias, by the Savior when He became incarnate. The precious stones of green and red, and the imitations of the white pearls are attributes of the same Son of God. The green is a sign of the "bloom" of His youth when His doctrine was sprouting forth; the red, of the redness of His blood when He died on the cross; and the white, of His illuminating and decorating the Church with the brightest whiteness of His resurrection and ascension. The very bright mirror on Humility's breast, in which the incarnate Son of God appears, signifies that Humility was in the heart of the Son of God when He shone forth in blessed and splendid knowledge in all His works as He made Himself manifest to the world (III, viii; 668-669). The thematic function of Humility is, then, to act as coordinator for all the virtues so that they may cooperate according to their own justice by means of Humility herself (I, ii; 404). Furthermore Humility is to lament, wail and destroy all the reproaches of the Devil (I, ii; 402).

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[7] Prima imago portabat coronam auream capiti suo impositam, tres ramos altius exstantes habentem, atque pretiosissimis lapidibus viridis et rubei coloris et albis baccis multo fulgentem ornatu. In pectore vero suo habebat speculum lucidissimum, in quo mira claritate imago incarnati Filii Dei apparebat. Et ait: Ego sum columna humilium mentium, et interfectrix superborum cordium. In minimo incepi et ad ardua coelorum ascendi; Lucifer erexit se sursum super se, et corruit sub se deorsum. Quisquis me vult imitari Filius meus esse desiderans, si me matrem sitit amplecti opus meum in me perficiendo, hic tangat fundamentum, et leniter ad alta sursum ascendat (III, viii; 652-653).

As can be seen, the presentation of the personification of Humility is apocalyptic in nature. Each particular aspect of the physical description has significance, but taken together the totality of the details present no single, unified concept.

To apply this to the Ordo; Humility enters on stage at the end of Scene One, rebuking the Devil. She then opens Scene Two as the coordinator of the other virtues, calling them to herself with

> I humility, queen of the virtues,
> say: Come to me virtues, and I will
> nourish you until the lost drachma
> is asked for, and until the happy
> crowning in perseverance.[8]

She continues thematically as the rebuker of the Devil and the coordinator of the virtues throughout the rest of Scene Two, and into Scene Three, as well as in the Sequel.

After the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Souls, and Humility, the "Personae" of the _Ordo_ moves on to the First Chorus. The First Chorus, as mentioned above, is made up of Knowledge of God, Charity, Hope, Chastity, Heavenly Love, and Discretion. The First Chorus speaks both as a separate Chorus and in conjunction with the Second and Third Choruses. But each member of the First Chorus speaks individual parts as well. Knowledge of God speaks individually only in Scene One. The other five virtues of the Chorus speak individually only in Scene Two, except Chastity which appears both in Scene Two and in the Sequel. None speak individually in Scene Three.

Knowledge of God's external appearance is described in the _Scivias_ as of such an excessive brightness that it is impossible to look at her or her garments. Before her, stands a multitude of men dressed in dark clothing, which Knowledge of God is renewing (III, iv; 607). In the staging of the *Ordo*, some system of bright lighting and darker shadows might have been used, or perhaps a white tunic for Knowledge of God with the multitude beginning in black or gray tunics, changing to white.

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[8] Ego humilitas, regina virtutum, dico: Venite ad me, virtutes, et enutriam vos ad requirendam perditam drachmam, et ad coronandam in perseverantia felicem.

The significance of the external appearance is that Knowledge of God is to be the one who enlightens and foresees all things in Heaven and on earth. The renewing of the garments of the multitude is an apocalyptic representation of the baptism of life eternal, in which the fearful multitude leaves the falsehood of their unfaithfulness behind (III, iv; 611). The thematic function of Knowledge of God, then, is to make God known both in His mysteries and in His manifestations, to the four corners of the world (I, iv; 421). And she does just this in Scene One of the *Ordo* where she admonishes the Unfortunate Soul, saying:

> Thou dost not know, neither dost thou see, nor understand Him who created thee.[9]

She also encourages the Unfortunate Soul, telling her that if she is firm she will not fall into the hands of the Devil.

After Knowledge of God, Charity is listed in the "Personae" as the second virtue within the First Chorus. Charity is said to be

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[9] Tu nescis, nec vides, nec sapis illum qui te constituit.

> seen as a flower of the color of the air on high namely both in its figure and tunic. And the same double girdled tunics had been woven wonderfully, decorated in a priceless manner with gold and gems; so that upon both of her shoulders the one girdle of the image descended in front and in the back right up to its feet (III, viii; 653).[10]

On stage, she must have carried some kind of flower, probably of the color of the sky, namely sky blue. Her tunic must also have been a blue color, decorated with gold and gems.

In regard to the significance of the apocalyptic imagery used to describe her external appearance, the Scivias states that the flower of the color of the air on high enlightens the one who holds the flower just as the incarnate Son of God enlightened all the faithful through His humanity, and thus enkindled them with charity. The tunic of blue color is a covering of the sweetness of God so that this virtue may shine forth in the right light with devotion, action, and usefulness for all mankind. The two girdles decorated with gold and jewels are signs of the dual nature of Charity--the dual nature in which good can be done by will, as if by gold, and by just works, as if by the brightest gems. The length of the tunic, to the floor in front and back, is again a sign of the twofold work of Charity but also of the fact that the work of Charity is to last until the end of time (III, viii; 669).

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[10] Sed secunda tota videbatur ut hyacinthus aerei in alto coloris videlicet tam forma quam tunica ipsius. Et eidem tunicae duae zonae inaestimabili modo auro et gemmis ornatae mirabiliter intextae erat; ita ut super utrumque humerum ejusdem imaginis zona una usque ad pedes ipsius, ante et retro descenderet (III, viii; 653).

The thematic function of Charity is first stated in Book One, Vision Two of the Scivias, and is again restated many times in Books Two and Three. It is twofold: first, keeping the only-begotten Son of God in the bosom of the Father in Heaven and sending Him down to earth in the womb of the Virgin; and second, drawing out the hardness of the heart from faithful mankind so that they may return to their Father in Heaven (I, ii; 403). This is precisely the function of Charity in the Ordo as brought out at the beginning of Scene Two in her only part spoken individually. She says:

> I am charity, a lovely flower. Come to me, virtues, and I will bring you into the shining white light of the flower of the rod.[11]

After Charity, Hope comes as the next virtue of the Chorus. Hope can be visualized as clothed

> in a tunic of olive-green color. And the cross of the passion of the crucified Son of God appeared before her in the air: to which she was raising her eyes and hands with much devotion: and said: O blessed Father, spare those sinning, thou who forsakest not the banished, but thou liftest them up on thy shoulders. Whence also let us, having hope in thee, not perish now (III, viii; 654).[12]

[11] Ego caritas, flos amabilis, venite ad me, virtutes, et perducam vos in candidam lucem floris virgae.

[12] Sexta autem tunica pallidi coloris induebatur. Et crux passionis crucifixi Filii Dei ante eam in aere apparuit: ad quam ipsa oculos et manus cum multe devotione erigebat, dixitque: O pie Pater, perce peccantibus, qui non dereliquisti exsules, sed elevasti in humeros tuos. Unde etiam jam non perimus spem habentes in te (III, viii; 654).

On stage, then, Hope's tunic was probably olive-green, or some other shade of light green. Before her, perhaps suspended on a cord or wire, must have been a crucifix to which she raised her eyes and hands.

The significance of the visual imagery used to describe Hope is that her olive-green tunic indicates that confidence in her work is surrounded by a paleness or weakness, since it is necessary to sigh and to wait for a future reward with much weariness. Hope's eyes and hands lifted up to the cross prepare confidence in the faithful so that they may lift up the inner eyes of their faith and the works of their labor to the Only-Begotten (III, viii; 671). The thematic significance of Hope is, then, to strengthen the faithful in their confidence of celestial inheritance (III, xi; 721).

In the Ordo, Hope, of course, bears out this thematic significance. She speaks in conjunction with the First Chorus, and with all the other virtues when all three Choruses speak in unison, but she has only one individual speaking part and that is in Scene Two. Here her function, but again in an iconographic sense, is to look upon Christ for she describes herself as "the sweet viewer of the living eye."[13] Because she has her eyes lifted up to Him, she tells us that the powers of darkness are not able to cover her.

Chastity comes next after Hope. In regard to her physical appearance, the Scivias says that she is clothed in a bright, pure and glittering tunic which shines in such a dazzling whiteness that it looks like water glittering in the sun. She wears a mirror on the front of which is inscribed the word "innocence," and inside of which a shining white infant appears. On her head, a dove stands with its wings expanded as if ready to fly, while in her right hand she holds a royal scepter; her left hand is placed on her breast (III, viii; 654).

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[13] Dulcis conspectrix viventis oculi.

In the actual performance of the Ordo, the external appearance of Chastity would not be difficult to portray, except the mirror with its inscription and infant. Perhaps a piece of polished metal with the inscription and infant painted on it was used.

As for the meaning of the external appearance, the bright, pure and glittering tunic with its whiteness is a projection of the Holy Spirit's surrounding Chastity with a garment of innocence, glittering in the brightest whiteness of the fountain of the living water, which is the most brilliant sun of eternal brightness. The word "innocence" inscribed on the front of the mirror indicates that Chastity is inviolable and undefiled, and most certainly possesses the integrity of a child. In other words, she possesses the innocence of a child. The infant in the mirror is as an infant in her womb. Here Chastity becomes a figure of the Blessed Virgin with the Christ child in her womb. Chastity herself tells us that

"I however trample under foot the proudest devil, who is not strong enough to bind me" (III, viii; 654).[14] This is Mary as the Redemptrix of the human race. The dove on her head is the protection of the Holy Spirit under whose overshadowing wings she is able to fly over the diabolic deceptions of lust and concupiscence. The scepter in her right hand is the scepter of salvation through the Son of God, who, being the King of Kings, is manifested through the chastity in the hearts of those loving Him. The left hand on her breast indicates that Christ confuses the followers of lust through the same virtue and annihilates them (III, viii; 672). Left is, of course, the side of weakness or evil at this time. The significance of the elements of her physical appearance leads, then, to the understanding that her thematic function is to protect her followers from the trickery of the Devil and to be a figure of the Blessed Virgin.

In the Second Scene of the Ordo she performs that function when she tells Virginity, who is standing in the royal bed-chamber, burning in the embrace of the King, that the diabolic deception will never make her fall. And in the Sequel, Chastity is the only virtue of the First Chorus to have individual speaking parts in the Sequel. She presents herself as a figure of the Blessed Virgin:

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[14] Superbissimum autem diabolum conculco non praevalentem ligare me (III, viii; 654).

> In the mind of the Most High, alas Satan, I trampled thy head under foot, and in the form of the Virgin I brought forth a sweet miracle, wherein the Son of God came into the world: whereby thou hast been cast down with all thy spoils, and now let all rejoice who dwell in the heavens, because your belly has been confounded.[15]

Heavenly Love follows Chastity as the next personage of the First Chorus. She is said to be in man in order to care for his soul, and the imagery of her physical description states that she is

> wearing on her head a bishop's miter, with white hair scattered around, because she has been crowned greatly by the highest priest, Jesus Christ, and by the highest priests of the Old Testament, and by those who said of the same Son of God: Wouldst that thou break assunder the heavens and descend; standing with uncovered hair appearing in whiteness without a womanly cloak on thy head: prefiguring by this that the priestly office ought to be laid bare with the conjugal office at the coming of my Son, who ought to be imitated by his priests in chastity for the sake of salvation; because they ought to cling always to the most perfect heavenly love thus: so that they may drive the evil ways of men away from the contagion of sin: the brilliant and shining white part of them

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[15] In mente Altissimi, o Satana, caput tuum conculcavi, et in virginea forma dulce miraculum colui, ubi Filius Dei venit in mundum: unde dejectus es in omnibus spoliis tuis, et nunc gaudeant omnes qui habitant in coelis, quia venter tuus confusus est.

existing by a spiritual gift of God
(III, iii; 594).[16]

From the above passage, it can be determined that when the Ordo Virtutum was staged, Heavenly Love probably wore a real, or imitation of, a bishop's miter, with her white hair sticking out from under it. She probably also wore a white mantle with purple woven on its two edges. In her right hand, she probably carried lilies and some other flowers, while, in her left, a palm.

The **Scivias** interprets what Heavenly Love's physical appearance signifies and then discusses her thematic function. First the interpretation. Her white mantle with its two purple edges is a sign of the grace of God surrounding her in the whiteness of her gentleness as well as a sign of the fact that divine grace ought to be within the boundary of each good work, unchanging in its two parts of love of God and of man. In her right hand, Heavenly Love has lilies and some other flowers. The lilies are signs of the "white" rewards of eternal life given for good works, plus symbols of the clearness of eternal light. The other flowers are all the people who join themselves together in Heavenly Love. In her left hand, she carries a palm. This is in remembrance of the death of Christ (III, iii; 594).

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[16] Gestans in capite suo pontificalem infulam, sparsis capillis et albis, quia valde coronata est in summo sacerdote Jesu Christo, et in summis sacerdotibus Veteris Testamenti, et in illis qui eidem Filii Dei dixerunt: Utinam disrumperes coelos et descenderes; stans denudatis capillis sine muliebri velamine capitis in albedine apparentibus: praefigurans in eis quod sacerdotale officium denudandum esset conjugali officio in adventu Filii mei, ipsius qui imitandus est a sacerdotibus suis in castitate propter salvationem; quia ipsi perfectissimo coelesti amore sic semper adhaerere debent: ut excutiant pravos mores hominum, a contagione peccati: clara et candida pars existentes in spirituali dono Dei (III, iii; 594).

Second her thematic function. The Scivias specifies that the role of Heavenly Love is to make man know and perceive God, loving Him above all things (III, iii; 596). She does this by helping them drag themselves away from the slavery of the devil, by fortifying them against the concupiscence of their body, and by having them mortify themselves by wrenching away from worldly things--all for the love of heavenly things (III, v; 620). When they have done these things, God will come into their hearts with all His bountifulness.

In the Ordo, Heavenly Love functions just as the Scivias presents her, by bringing those who love heavenly things to God. But the imagery of her discourse in Scene Two adds another dimension, for she says she is the golden gate of Heaven and that those who go through her will never be troubled in mind. Such an image re-enforces her role of bringing souls to God, but it is unlikely that she was represented as a golden gate within the play.

Discretion is the last personage listed as participating in the First Chorus. Discretion's external appearance can be visualized as having a very bright light shining forth from her breast. The bright light is divided into rays which shine through little and great holes. In her right hand, she carries a piece of wood which has three branches of flowers sprouting from its top (III, vi; 640).

On stage, a candle shining through the perforated shield of a latern, or some system of reflection off polished metals, must have been used for the bright light divided into rays. The piece of wood with its flowers was probably a wooden cross decorated with sprouts of some type.

The significance of the bright light is that it is actually a depiction of the divine piety which is breathed into the minds of men, so illuminating them and producing Discretion in them. The different rays are the various virtues of the Holy Spirit, and the rays shining through the little and great holes is Discretion enlightening the senses and minds of the faithful. The piece of wood, or wooden cross, is a sign of salvation as well as a sign of the fragile flesh of men. The three branches with flowers sprouting from the top of the wood are the faithful sprouting forth the holy Trinity through the actions of their good works (III, vi; 640).

Thematically, according to the Scivias, Discretion is to bring justice to all things, and to dispense justice to all creatures just as God dispenses all His works among His diverse creatures (III, vi; 640). In the Ordo, Discretion is just such a dispenser when, near the end of Scene Two, she says:

> I am discretion, the light and
> dispenser of all creatures, the

> impartiality of God, whom Adam
> chased away from himself by his
> wanton ways.[17]

The "Personae," after listing the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Souls, Humility, and the First Chorus--Knowledge of God, Charity, Hope, Chastity, Heavenly Love, and Discretion--next moves on to the Second Chorus. Faith is the first virtue of the Second Chorus. Also included in the Chorus are Contempt of the World, Discipline, Patience, and Modesty. The Second Chorus speaks both in conjunction with the First and Third Choruses throughout the _Ordo_, and by itself in all three Scenes as well as in the Sequel. The five virtues which make up the Second Chorus have individual speaking parts only in Scene Two.

Faith, the first member of the Second Chorus, has a miniature in Book One, Scene Four of the _Scivias_.

[17] Ego discretio, sum lux et dispensatrix omnium creaturarum, indifferentia Dei, quam Adam a se fugavit per lasciviam morum.

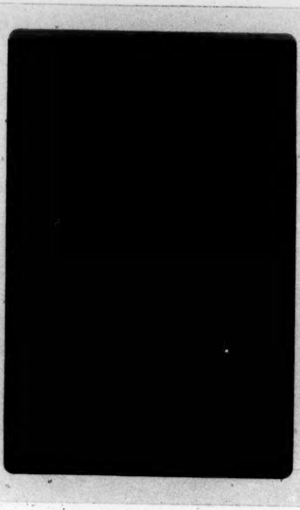

Figure 4. Faith under Temptation[18]

Figure 4 shows Faith as a female personage, kneeling and surrounded by three personifications of evil. To her right side is a tower, most likely the tower of the Church; and above her where her eyes are directed, is the hand of God reaching down from a cloud.

The external appearance of the personage of Faith remains basically consistent with that of the miniature throughout the rest of the Scivias, but because the apocalyptic imagery of Faith abounds, the visual aspect of the personage accumulates additional details. One such detail is the red necklace around Faith's neck. It is stated that

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[18] Hildegard, Wisse Die Wege, p. 27.

> The fifth image...stands for faith....
> This image...has a red necklace around
> her neck (III, viii; 671).[19]

The remainder of the apocalyptic imagery used to describe the physical appearance of the personage of Faith in the Scivias is plentiful, but most of it would be impossible to depict on the stage. Faith is, for example, represented as the foundation of a building (III, viii; 661), the shining white pavement of a building (III, x; 706), and the building itself (III, ii; 578 and III, xi; 724). She is further represented as the bride of Christ (III, xi; 722), who, together with Christ, unites the faithful through the seven sacraments of the Church. In still other images, she is a great stone upon which a mountain rests (III, ii; 578), and a vesture which the faithful can put on or take off, depending on the strength of their Faith (III, ix; 683).

But the thematic function of Faith, as found in the Scivias, would not be impossible to communicate upon the stage. Faith is to bring the people and their rulers to the New Law so that they may surpass the example and zeal of their ancestors who followed the Old Law (III, vi; 633). Through the New Law, man will be able to build other virtues upon his Faith until he is able to apprehend God (III, ii; 588).

Faith, then, ultimately leads to salvation, to a life with God. And in the Ordo, this is precisely the way the

[19] Quinta...designat fidem.... Et haec circa collum rubeum torquem habet (III, viii; 671).

imagery of the discourse of Faith presents her when she says in Scene Two that

> I am faith, the mirror of life:
> venerable daughters, come to me, and
> I will show the flowing fountain to
> you.[20]

After Faith, Contempt of the World comes second in the Second Chorus. According to the Scivias, the personage of Contempt of the World appears opposite the north on a wheel. She has a green branch in her right hand and an image of Christ on her breast (III, x; 705). The branch and image, probably a crucifix, would present no difficulties in staging, whereas Contempt of the World's standing on a wheel would. Perhaps she held a smaller wheel in her hand.

The Scivias interprets the significance of the wheel, stating that as the wheel is spun around, Contempt of the World remains immobile on the revolving wheel. This, in turn, signifies that, having no instability, this virtue always seeks heavenly things, which are immutable, instead of earthly things, which are mutable. The green branch in her right hand signifies Contempt's binding together in the souls of mankind the greenest and most tender sprouts of the virtues which have been sprinkled with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The image of Christ on her breast signifies that through the secrecy of Christ's advice to His followers to have Contempt of the World, Christ has penetrated the hearts of His chosen (III, x; 705). Thematically, then, Contempt of the World is to lead the faithful, by virtues strengthened through a despising of the world, to Christ and heavenly things. Or as she states in Scene Two of the Ordo: "Come to me, and let us ascend to the fountain of life."[21]

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[20] Ego fides, speculum vitae: venerabiles filiae, venite ad me, et ostendo vobis fontem salientem.

After Faith and Contempt of the World, Discipline, or teaching in the medieval sense of the word, is listed as the third personage of the Second Chorus. The Scivias visualizes her externally as a young maiden of great authority, wearing a purple tunic (III, iii; 594). Staging this in or near the convent at Rupertsberg would certainly have been no problem. The Scivias next interprets the significance of Discipline's physical appearance. She is a young maiden of great authority. This is because Discipline is as a young maiden who, out of respect for authority, is always fearful of her master. Discipline's master is the omnipotent Father, because she does not wish to exercise her power through her own will, but wishes instead to exercise it out of reverence for God. The purple tunic, in imitation of the purple which Christ wore, is a sign of the law and mortification of the flesh which surrounds the personage (III, iii; 594-595).

From the interpretation of Discipline's physical appearance, it becomes clear, then, that through her teaching authority and her mortification, her thematic purpose is to lead her followers to Christ. Fittingly her one and only individual speaking part in the Ordo presents her as doing so. For Discipline says in Scene Two that

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[21] Venite ad me, et ascendamus ad fontem vitae.

> I am the lover of simple ways which know not foul works; but I always look at the king of kings, and I embrace Him in the highest honor.[22]

The King of Kings is, of course, her master, her God.

Patience is the next personage. She is described in the Scivias as wearing

> on her head, as it were, a red triangular crown, as a red hyacinth is red in its color.... She is also clothed in a white tunic whose interweavings are in a green color wherever decorated (III, iii; 599).[23]

Patience probably appeared on stage, then, with a red crown and a white tunic, embroidered in green.

The Scivias interprets the physical appearance of Patience in this way: the red crown is a sign of the strength of Patience even to the death of martyrdom--an example set by Christ; the white tunic is a sign of the vision of true light; and the green trim is a sign of the hardships that must be endured with patience in order to come to the true light (III, iii; 599-600).

[22] Ego sum amatrix simplicium morum, qui turpia opera nesciunt; sed semper in regem regum aspicio, et amplector eum in honore altissimo.

[23] In capite suo quasi triangularem coronam rubentem, ut rubeus hyacynthus rubet in colore suo.... Induta est quoque tunica alba cujus implicamenta sunt viridi colore ubique distincta (III, iii; 599).

Within the Ordo, the thematic purpose of Patience is to display strength--her red crown--which she does in Scene Two where she states that she is as a strong pillar which cannot bend because her foundation is in God.

Next, after Patience, comes Modesty, who is the last of the virtues listed by the "Personae" as being part of the Second Chorus. This personage is described only briefly in the Scivias, which states that she covers her face with the white maniple of her right hand (III, iii; 595). The color of her tunic and other aspects of her physical appearance on stage cannot be determined.

The significance of her covering her face with a white maniple is that she is protecting her inner conscience as if it were the face of her soul. She is protecting it with the white vesture of her innocence and chastity, from all diabolic defilement. Her thematic function is, then, to cast away all the attempts of the Devil to defile her innocence (III, iii; 595), or, as she says in Scene Two of the Ordo, "I conceal, drive away and trample under foot all the dirt of the devil."[24]

The last Chorus which the "Personae" lists, is the Third Chorus. The Third Chorus is composed of the virtues of Fear of God, Obedience, Innocence, Mercy and Victory. This Chorus, of course, speaks in conjunction with the First and Second Choruses throughout the entire play. But as a separate Chorus, it speaks four times in Scene Two, and once in Scene Three. The individual members of the Chorus have only one separate speaking part each, and that in Scene Two, except Victory which speaks twice in the Sequel after the Devil has been bound.

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[24] Ego obtenebro et fugo atque conculco omnes spurcitias diaboli.

Fear of God, the first virtue listed as part of the Third Chorus, is described as being taller than the other virtues, but of a form which is not like that of a human. She has many eyes everywhere, and is covered with a shadowy cloth through which the eyes are looking (III, viii; 653-654). In a dramatic presentation, such physical depiction would be difficult to portray, but it is possible that the eyes were painted on a cloth garment, over which a thin veil was draped.

Fear of God is taller than the other personages. This is a sign that she, rather than the others, brings distress and trembling to men because of the magnitude of her majesty and the height of her divinity. Similarly, men ought to fear God because they have been created by Him and by no other. Fear of God has a form not like that of a human. This is to indicate that she throws away every contradiction, namely the body, that is opposed to God. She despises all mortal things which are harmful to the spirit. Fear of God has many eyes everywhere. The many eyes are a depiction of her all-living wisdom which she has gained by always gazing at God and His wonders. The shadowy cloth through which the eyes are looking enables

Fear of God to look at the brightness of God, but it is a projection of the curbing of the flesh that is necessary if man is to arrive at a state of blessedness (III, viii; 670-671).

Thematically, Fear of God is to bring man back to God by leading him to the virtues. She can do this because she "is the beginning and the end of all of the rest of the virtues" (III, viii; 666).[25] Of what other virtues is she the beginning and end? In Book I, she is said to be the source of Humility (I, i; 387). In Book III, she is said to bring Wisdom to man (III, i; 567), and Justice (III, v; 623) as well as Knowledge of the eternal light--namely God (III, vi; 639). Ultimately she functions according to this theme in Scene Two of the Ordo, where she instructs her listeners that

> I, fear of God, prepare you most fortunate daughters, that ye may look upon the living God and may not perish.[26]

She leads her daughters to God by way of the other virtues.

Obedience is the second personage within the Third Chorus. In external appearance, the imagery of the description of Obedience in the Scivias presents her as she probably appeared on stage, wearing a snowy white chain around her neck. She has her hands and feet bound with another white chain which, she says, is to prevent her from running through the secular ways and through the infections of the human will (III, viii; 654). As for the significance of the white chains, the Scivias states that

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[25] Quia ipse est finis et initium caeterarum virtutum (III, viii; 666).

[26] Ego timor Dei, vos felicissimas filias praeparo, ut inspiciatis in Deum vivum et non pereatis.

> she wears a snowy white chain around her neck; because she makes most white the minds of men, who through the yielding of faithful subjection forsake the strength of the neck of their will everywhere, and adhere to the Lamb of innocence, namely my Son. And she has her hands and feet bound with a white fastening; because she has been bound to the work of Christ and to the life of truth in the whiteness of true faith, not doing nor going according to herself, but according to the voice of the protecting God, as she also shows in her aforesaid words (III, viii; 671).[27]

Christ is given as an example of perfect Obedience because He was obedient to His Father, even to His death on the Cross. In the Ordo, Obedience bids the other virtues to come to her so that she can bring them to the Father in Heaven.

After Obedience, Innocence is listed next. This particular personage does not receive any special description within the Scivias, but she is nevertheless mentioned symbolically in conjunction with some of the other virtues. For example, some of the virtues are mentioned as having white hair--this, of course, because they are innocents. Other virtues wear white garments to show that they are surrounded with a covering of innocence. The Ordo, in keeping with the brief coverage in the Scivias, gives Innocence only one very short speaking part in Scene Two: "Flee, ye sheep, from the filth of the devil!"[28] She obviously does not have much importance in the Ordo, but this is because the Ordo also includes Chastity and Modesty, both related to Innocence.

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[27] Niveum vinculum circa collum portat; quia candidissimas facit mentes hominum, qui per subjectionem fidelis subjectionis ubique fortitudinem colli voluntatis suae deserunt et innocenti Agno, scilicet Filio meo adhaerent. Atque manus et pedes candido ligamine habet ligatas; quoniam ad opus Christi et ad vitam veritatis in albedine verae fidei ligata est, non faciens neque vadens secundum se, sed secundum vocem praesidentis Dei, ut etiam in praedictis verbis suis demonstrat (III, viii; 671).

Mercy, who is the fourth member of the Third Chorus, can be visualized as having her

> head covered with a white veil in the manner of a woman, and was clothed about with a garment of saffron color; on her breast, in truth, she was carrying an image of Jesus Christ; around which on her breast had been written: Through the bowels of the mercy of our God, in which He has visited us, coming from on high (Luke I) (III, iii; 590).[29]

On stage, then, she probably wore a white veil on her head, and a yellow or golden tunic. The image of Christ was probably represented by a crucifix.

The significance of the details of her physical appearance is as follows: her head is covered with a white veil. The veil can be the shelter of salvation, for, under her protection, Mercy leads the souls who have fallen, back to salvation. The veil can also signify that she is covered with the Mercy of God, and since the veil is white, that she shines forth her Mercy as the sun does its rays. She has the form of a woman because she acts with the gentleness and sweetness of a woman toward the sinful souls. Likewise, as the virgin mother had the sweetest Mercy enclosed in her womb, so the personage of Mercy has the same virtue enclosed within herself. She is clothed about with a garment of yellow or golden color. This is because she has been clothed in the most splendid sun, which is a sign of the most splendid Son of God (III, iii; 595-596).

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[28] Fugite, oves, spurcitias diaboli!

[29] Erat velata capite albo velamine more muliebri, et circumamicta pallio crocei coloris; in pectore vero suo gerebat imaginem Jesu Christi; circa quam in pectore suo scriptum erat: Per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, in quibus visitavi nos Oriens ex alto (Luc. I) (III, iii; 590).

Mercy, then, has Christ within her, since she is a woman similar to Mary. And she has Christ around her, as represented by her golden cloak. Furthermore, she has Christ outside her, which is represented by the crucifix and words on her breast. Her purpose, as a result, is to bring others back to Christ. And ultimately, she fulfills this purpose in the Ordo where she stretches out her hand to all the sorrowing, to all those suffering under the bitterness of the pain of sin.

The "Personae" lists Victory as the last member of the Third Chorus. Victory comes after Mercy, just as the Victory of Christ over the Devil came after the Mercy of God was shown to mankind by sending His own Son in the Incarnation. Victory, very much like the personifications within Prudentius' Psychomachia, has a helmet on her head, a leather corselet about her, iron hand-protectors on her hands, a buckler hanging from her left shoulder, a sword, and, finally, a spear in her right hand. All of these arms enable her to resist the fleshly desires of the Devil, and thereby encourage men to be bold with trust in God so that they may overcome all the wisdom of the Devil (III, iii; 596-597). The clothing and armor of a medieval knight was, no doubt, used on the stage.

The interpretation of the physical appearance of Victory, as well as an explanation of her thematic purpose, is not given in the Scivias. But the warrior image of her physical description is nevertheless consistent with the imagery of her discourse within the Ordo. In Scene Two she states that

> I, victory, am a swift and strong fighter, I fight with a stone, I trample the old serpent under foot.[30]

In the Sequel, Humility bids Victory to hasten to bind Satan. Victory, in turn, calls upon the other virtues to help her, and after the Devil has been bound, she urges them all to rejoice now that the old serpent has been bound.

The Devil himself is the last personage of the "Personae." According to the imagery of his description in the Scivias, he is visualized as a beast.

[30] Ego victoria, velox et fortis pugnatrix sum, in lapide pugno, serpentem antiquum conculco.

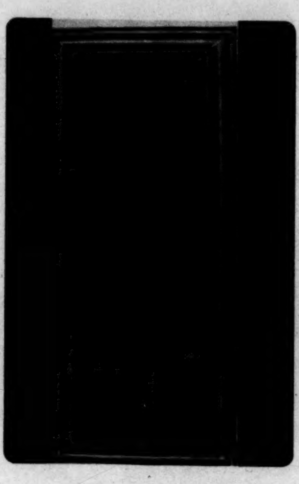

Figure 5. The Tempter

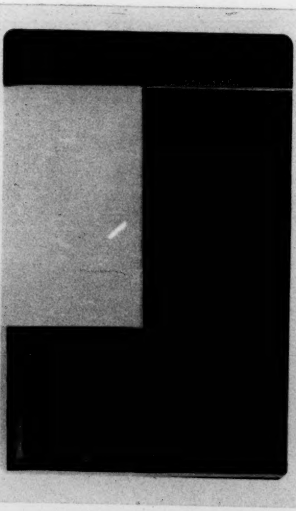

Figure 6. The Chained Devil[31]

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[31] Hildegard, Wisse Die Wege, p. 51 and p. 49.

Figure 5 appears in Book Two, Scene Seven of the Scivias. The miniature shows the opened mouth and part of the face of a leathery beast as the Devil. The beast is either spewing forth his little evil creatures, or else drawing little innocent creatures into himself and hence into evil ways. The little creatures would be difficult, if not virtually impossible, to portray on stage, but the beast could be an actor dressed in some type of leather costume. Figure 6 presents a better visual image of the Devil, this time as a reddish-brown, leathery skinned beast which is similar to a dragon. The beast is chained in this miniature which appears in Book Two, Vision Seven.

As with Victory, the interpretation of the physical appearance of the Devil is not given in the Scivias. Neither is the thematic purpose. Perhaps Hildegard omitted this because she felt there would be little misunderstanding in the matter.

In the Ordo, the Devil speaks twice in Scene One, once in Scene Two, and twice in the Sequel. He has no speaking part in Scene Three. In Scene One, he addresses the Soul and tries to convince her that if she embraces the world, she will receive great honor. He then tries to tempt the Soul, and all the virtues in general, with a temptation similar to the one he tempted Christ with on the top of the mountain. For he says that

> whoever wishes to follow me and my
> will, I will give him all things.
> Thou, indeed, hast nothing among

> thy possessions, which thou canst give, because none of you know what ye are.[32]

In Scene Two, he tries to chide the Soul and virtues into disbelief of the existence of God. But in the Sequel, when he sees that the Soul is beginning to reject him, he threatens the Soul with violence. The virtues then come to the Soul's aid and bind Satan, and Chastity, who is a figure of the Virgin Mary, rejoices because the Devil has been trampled under foot by the coming of Christ. The Devil's final remark is a scornful reproach to Chastity:

> Thou knowest not what thou bringest forth, because thy womb is empty of any fair form taken from man, wherein thou transgressest the command of pleasant intercourse which God commanded: wherefore thou knowest not what thou art.[33]

Such, then, are the twenty-one personages of the Ordo Virtutum. The miniature, if the Scivias contained one, was given first. Second, the passages from the Scivias which described the external appearance of the personage, were given. These passages usually contained information helpful in visualizing what the personage looked like in an actual performance on stage. Third, when possible, a passage from the Scivias, interpreting what the external appearance signifies, was given. In most cases, the interpretation led to an understanding of the thematic significance of the personage. Finally, a quotation from the Ordo itself, revealing that the personage actually functions in the play according to its thematic significance, was given.

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[32] Qui voluerit me et voluntatem meam sequi, dabo illi omnia. Tu vero tuis sequacibus nihil habes, quod dare possis, quia etiam vos omnes nescitis quid sitis.

[33] Tu nescis quid colis, quia venter tuus vacuus est pulchra forma de viro sumpta, ubi transis praeceptum quod Deus in suavi copula praecepit: unde nescis quid sis.

One thing remains, namely a brief discussion of the other images found within the discourse of the Ordo. These images are of little importance in visualizing a performance of the play, but are of benefit in understanding Hildegard's Ordo Virtutum.

The play is specifically about the complaint of a Soul placed in the flesh and the eventual salvation of that Soul, but it is more generally about Christianity in Microcosm and in Macrocosm.[34] This theme of salvation and Christianity is, of course, developed through the actions of the personages of the play. But it is also developed in some of the other imagery. The Prologue, for example, begins with the Patriarchs and Prophets speaking. They are those who had gone before Christ and foretold His actions. The Prologue is very much concerned with tree imagery, as can be seen when the Patriarchs and Prophets proclaim:

> We are the roots and ye the branches,
> the fruit of the living bud, and we

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[34] This is precisely the pattern of the great moralities: an individual is generic, so that at the same time we get a spiritual history of the individual and the race.

> were the shadow in Him.[35]

This is obviously a symbol of the tree of Jesse of which Christ is the fruit. After the Prologue, the Patriarchs and Prophets leave the play and do not return in any of the remaining Scenes; the Old Testament, in other words, has left, making way for the action of the New.

Such imagery, found in the discourse of the Prologue, leads to Christ, which is significant since the coming of Christ, as the personage Chastity in the Ordo reveals, brings about the resolution of the dramatic problem of the salvation of the Soul.

In the three scenes of the play where the working out of the redemption of the Soul is seen, images, not visual images describing the appearances and purpose of the personages, but rhetorical images of love and of an eye, are found. Furthermore, images of darkness and brightness, death and growth abound and are intertwined with those of precious gems, water, and fruitful flowers, plants, and trees. Some of the images are of the Garden of Eden, but most are images for Christ.

Some sexual images of love are found in Scene Two when Humility says that "I keep you in the royal bed-chamber"[36] and Chastity states

> O virginity, thou standest in the

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[35] Nos sumus radices et vos rami, fructus viventis oculi, et nos umbra in illo fuimus.

[36] Teneo vos in regali thalamo.

> royal bed-chamber. O how sweetly
> thou burnest in the embrace of the
> king, while the sun shines through
> thee, so that thy noble flower will
> never smother. Most noble virgin,
> the shade will never find thee with
> a fading flower.[37]

The sexual overtones of the imagery is obvious, as is the fact that "the sun shines through thee" represents sexual intercourse. But it is also obvious that the "royal bed-chamber" and "the king" refer to Christ. Again, the imagery, this time of love, refers to Christ who is the resolution of the dramatic problem.

The imagery of the eye is also found in Scene Two of the _Ordo_. Hope, for example, says that she is the "sweet viewer of the living eye."[38] The living eye can again be Christ.

It should be noted that most of the references in the _Ordo_ concerning the eye are ambiguous: _oculus_ means either the eye or the bud of a plant. As the bud of a plant, the image would be related to the imagery of the tree in the Prologue. Hence the intertwining of the various images can be seen.

The Epilogue of the _Ordo_ draws all the images together, at the same time re-enforcing them as being of Christ. For it states that

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[37] O virginitas, in regali thalamo stas. O quam dulciter ardes in amplexibus regis, cum te sol perfulget, ita quod nobilis flos tuus numquam cadet. O virgo nobilis, te numquam inveniet umbra in cadente flore.

[38] Dulcis conspectrix viventis oculi.

> in the beginning all creatures grew and flourished, in the middle flowers bloomed; afterwards the bloom of the green grew brown. And this man, a jouster, saw and said: This I know, but the golden number is not yet full. Ye therefore, mirror of the Father, behold, in my body I sustain a weariness, also my little ones fall off. Now be mindful, because the fulness which was made in the beginning, ought not to run dry, and then thou hadst in thyself, that thy eye should never yield, until thou mightest see my body full of the buds. For it wearies me, because all my members become a mockery. Father see, I show my wounds to thee. Therefore now, all men, bend your knees to your Father, so that he can stretch out His hand to you.[39]

Here the images of love, of darkness and brightness, death and growth are all drawn together with those of dryness and water, and fruitful flowers, plants, and trees. And all are found in a passage with strong resemblance to John 1:1-15, the Gospel which tells of the coming of Christ.

That Hildegard begins her Ordo Virtutum with the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament and concludes by drawing together all her images which refer to Christ in

[39] In principio omnes creaturae viruerunt, in medio flores floruerunt; postea viriditas descendit. Et istud vir proeliator vidit et dixit: Hoc scio, sed aureus numerus nondum est plenus. Tu ergo, Paternum speculum, aspice, in corpore meo fatigationem sustineo, parvuli etiam mei deficiunt. Nunc memor esto, quod plenitudo quae in primo facta est, arescere non debuit, et tunc in te habuisti, quod oculus tuus numquam cederet, usque dum corpus meum videres plenum gemmarum. Nam me fatigat, quod omnia membra mea in irrisionem vadunt. Pater, vide, vulnera mea tibi ostendo. Ergo nunc, omnes homines, genua vestra ad Patrem vestrum flectite, ut vobis manum suam porrigat.

a passage which echoes the Gospel according to John, is not surprising, for she was a Benedictine abbess. But that she did this in a liturgical morality play between the years 1141 and 1151, about two hundred years before any other surviving morality play, is surprising and is the importance and value of her work.

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